# *MEMOIRS*

OF THE HONOURABLE

# COL. ANDREW NEWPORT.

Robert Earle of Essex, his Excellence, Generall of ye Army, Imployed for ye defence of the Protestant Religion, ye safety of his Ma:ties Person, & of ye Parliment, ye preseruation of ye Lawes, Liberties, & Peace of ye Kingdome, & protection of his Ma:ties subiects from violence & oppression.

# *MEMOIRS*

OF THE HONOURABLE

# COL. ANDREW NEWPORT,

A SHROPSHIRE GENTLEMAN,

WHO SERVED AS A CAVALIER IN THE ARMY OF

## GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS IN GERMANY,

AND IN THAT OF

## CHARLES THE FIRST IN ENGLAND;

CONTAINING

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL PERSONS OF THAT TIME:

THE WHOLE FORMING

A COMPLETE MILITARY HISTORY

OF

*GERMANY AND ENGLAND*

TOWARDS THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

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A NEW EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS,

And a Portrait of the EARL OF ESSEX, Commander of the first Army formed by the PARLIAMENT againſt the KING.

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# MEMOIRS

OF A

# *CAVALIER,*

WHO SERVED IN THE ARMY OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS IN GERMANY, &c.

IT may ſuffice the reader, without being very inquiſitive after my name, that I was born in the county of Salop, under the government of what ſtar I was never aſtrologer enough to examine; but the conſequences of my life may allow me to ſuppoſe ſome extraordinary influence affected my birth.

If there be any thing in dreams alſo, my mother, who was mighty obſervant that way, took minutes, which I have ſince ſeen in the firſt leaf of her prayer book, of ſeveral ſtrange dreams ſhe had while ſhe was with child of her ſecond ſon, which was myſelf.

Once ſhe noted that ſhe dreamed ſhe was carried away by a regiment of horſe, and delivered in the fields of a ſon, that as ſoon as it was born had two wings came out of its back, and in half an hour's time flew away from her: and the very evening be-

fore I was born ſhe dreamed ſhe was brought to bed of a ſon, and that all the while ſhe was in labour a man ſtood under her window beating on a kettle drum, which very much diſcompoſed her.

My father was a gentleman of a very plentiful fortune, of a family nearly allied to ſeveral of the principal nobility, and lived about ſix miles from Shrewſbury; and my mother being at that town, on ſome particular occaſion, was ſurpriſed there at a friend's houſe, and brought me very ſafe into the world.

I was my father's ſecond ſon, and therefore was not altogether ſo much ſlighted as younger ſons of good families generally are: but my father ſaw ſomething in my genius alſo which particularly pleaſed him, and made him take extraordinary care of my education.

I was taught, therefore, by the beſt maſters that could be had, every thing that was needful to accompliſh a young gentleman for the world; and at ſeventeen years old my tutor told my father an academic education was very proper for a perſon of quality, and he thought me very fit for it: ſo my father entered me of Wadham college, in Oxford, where I continued three years.

A collegiate life did not ſuit me at all, though I loved books very well. It was never deſigned that I ſhould be either a lawyer, phyſician, or divine; and I wrote to my father that I thought I had ſtaid

there long enough for a gentleman, and with his leave I desired to give him a visit.

During my stay at Oxford, though I passed through the proper exercises of the house, yet my chief reading was upon history and geography, as those pleased my mind best, and supplied me with ideas suitable to my genius: by the former I understood what great actions had been done in the world; and by the latter I understood where they had been done.

My father readily complied with my desire of coming home; for besides, he thought, as I did, that three years at the university was enough: he also most tenderly loved me, and began to think of my settling near him.

At my arrival I found myself extraordinarily caressed by my father, and he seemed to take a particular delight in my conversation. My mother, who lived in perfect union with him, both in desires and affection, received me very ardently: apartments were provided for myself, and horses and servants allowed me.

My father never went a hunting but he would have me with him—an exercise he was exceedingly fond of; and it pleased him when he found I liked the sport. I lived thus, in all the pleasures it was possible for me to enjoy, for about a year; when going out one morning with him to hunt a stag, and having had a very hard chase, and a few miles

from home, we had time enough to ride gently back; and as we returned he took occaſion to enter into a diſcourſe with me concerning my manner of ſettling in the world.

He told me, with a great deal of tenderneſs, that he loved me above all the reſt of his children, and that therefore he intended to do handſomely for me; that my eldeſt brother being already married and ſettled, he had deſigned the ſame for me, and propoſed a very advantageous match with a young lady of very extraordinary fortune and merit, and offered to make a ſettlement of two thouſand pounds per annum, which he ſaid he would purchaſe for me without diminiſhing his paternal eſtate.

There was too much delicacy in this ſpeech not to affect me exceedingly; and I immediately replied, I would perfectly reſign myſelf unto his diſpoſal. As my father had a very nice judgement, he fixed his eyes on me very attentively; and though my anſwer was without the leaſt reſerve, yet he thought he ſaw ſome uneaſineſs in me at the propoſal, and from thence concluded that my compliance was rather an act of diſcretion than inclination; and that however I ſeemed ſo abſolutely given up to what he had propoſed, yet my anſwer was really an effect of my obedience rather than my choice: upon this he returned very quick upon me——

"Look you, ſon, though I give you my own "thoughts in the matter, yet I would have you be "very plain with me; for if your own choice "does not agree with mine, I will be your adviſer, "but will never impoſe upon you; and therefore "let me know your mind freely."

"I don't reckon myſelf capable, Sir," ſaid I, with a great deal of reſpect, "to make ſo good a "choice for myſelf as you can for me; and though "my opinion differed from yours, its being your "opinion would reform mine, and my judgement "would as readily comply as my duty."

"I gather, at leaſt, from thence," ſaid my father, "that your deſigns lay another way before, "however they may now comply with mine; and "therefore I would know what it was you would "have aſked me if I had not offered this to you; "and you muſt not deny me your obedience in "this, if you expect I ſhould believe your readi-"neſs in the other."

"Sir," ſaid I, "it was impoſſible I ſhould lay "out for myſelf juſt what you have propoſed; but "if my inclinations were ever ſo contrary, though "at your command you ſhall know them, yet I de-"clare them to be wholly ſubjected to your order. "I confeſs my thoughts did not tend towards mar-"riage, or a ſettlement: for though I had no rea-"ſon to queſtion your care of me, yet I thought a "gentleman ought always to ſee ſomething of the

" world before he confined himſelf to any part of " it; and if I had been to aſk your conſent to any " thing, it ſhould have been to give me leave to " travel for a ſhort time, in order to qualify myſelf " to appear at home like a ſon to ſo good a fa- " ther."

" In what capacity would you travel?" replied my father: " you muſt go abroad either as a pri- " vate gentleman, as a ſcholar, or as a ſoldier."

" If it were in the latter capacity, Sir," ſaid I, " I hope I ſhould not miſbehave myſelf; but I am " not ſo determined as not to be ruled by your " judgement."

" Truly," replied my father, " I ſee no war " abroad at this time worth while for a man to ap- " pear in, whether we talk of the cauſe or the en- " couragement; and indeed, ſon, I am afraid you " need not go far for adventures of that nature, for " times ſeem to look as if this part of Europe " would find us work enough."

My father ſpoke then relating to the quarrel likely to happen between the king of England and the Spaniard*, for I believe he had no notions of a civil war at this time.

* Upon the breach of the match between the king of England and the infanta of Spain; and particularly upon the old quarrel of the king of Bohemia and the Palatinate.

In ſhort, my father perceiving my inclinations very forward to go abroad, gave me leave to travel, upon condition I would promiſe to return in two years at fartheſt, or ſooner, if he ſent for me.

While I was at Oxford I happened to fall into the ſociety of a young gentleman, of a good family, but of a low fortune, being a younger brother; and who had indeed inſtilled into me the firſt deſires of going abroad, and who I knew paſſionately longed to travel, but had not ſufficient allowance to defray his expences as a gentleman.

We had contracted a very cloſe friendſhip, and our humours being very agreeable to one another, we daily enjoyed the converſation of letters. He was of a generous, free temper, without the leaſt affectation or deceit, a handſome proper perſon, a ſtrong body, very good mien, and brave to the laſt degree.

His name was Fielding, and we called him captain, though it be a very unuſual title in a college; but fate had ſome hand in the title, for he had certainly the lines of a ſoldier drawn in his countenance.

I imparted to him the reſolutions I had taken, and how I had my father's conſent to go abroad; and would know his mind whether he would go with me. He ſent me word he would go with a great deal of pleaſure.

My father, when he ſaw him, for I ſent for him

immediately, mightily approved my choice; ſo we got our equipage ready, and came away for London.

It was on the 22d of April, 1630, when we embarked at Dover, landed in a few hours at Calais, and immediately took poſt for Paris.

I ſhall not trouble the reader with a journal of my travels, nor with the deſcription of places, which every geographer can do better than I; for theſe memoirs being only a relation of what happened either to ourſelves, or in our own knowledge, I ſhall confine myſelf to that part of it.

We had indeed ſome diverting paſſages in our journey to Paris; as firſt, the horſe my comrade was upon fell ſo very lame with a ſlip that he could not go, and hardly ſtand; and the fellow that rode with us expreſs pretended to ride away to a town five miles off to get a freſh horſe, and ſo left us on the road with one horſe between two of us: we followed as well as we could, but, being ſtrangers, miſſed the way, and wandered out of the road. Whether the man performed in reaſonable time, or not, we could not be ſure; but if it had not been for an old prieſt we had never found him.

We met this man, by a very good accident, near a little village whereof he was curate: we ſpoke Latin enough juſt to make him underſtand us, and he did not ſpeak it much better himſelf; but he carried us into the village to his houſe, gave us wine and bread,

and entertained us with wonderful courteſy. After this he ſent into the village, hired a peaſant, and a horſe for my captain, and ſent him to guide us into the road.

At parting he made a great many compliments to us in French, which we could juſt underſtand; but the ſum was, to excuſe him for a queſtion he had a mind to aſk us. After leave to aſk what he pleaſed, it was, if we wanted any money for our journey, and pulled out two piſtoles*, which he offered either to give or lend us.

I mention this exceeding courteſy of the curate, becauſe, though civility is very much in uſe in France, and eſpecially to ſtrangers, yet 'tis a very unuſual thing to have them part with their money.

We let the prieſt know, firſt, that we did not want money, and, next, that we were very ſenſible of the obligation he had put upon us; and I told him in particular, if I lived to ſee him again, I would acknowledge it.

This accident of our horſe was, as we afterwards found, of ſome benefit to us. We had left our two ſervants behind at Calais to bring our baggage after us, by reaſon of ſome diſpute between the captain of the packet and the cuſtom-houſe officer which could not be adjuſted, and we were willing to be at Paris: the fellows followed as faſt as they could;

* A gold coin.

and as near as we could learn, in the time we loſt our way, were robbed, and our portmanteaus opened. They took what they pleaſed; but as there was no money there, but linen and neceſſaries, the loſs was not great.

Our guide carried us to Amiens, where we found the expreſs and our two ſervants, whom, the expreſs meeting on the road with a ſpare horſe, he had brought back with him thither.

We took this for a good omen of our ſucceſsful journey, having eſcaped a danger which might have been greater to us than it was to our ſervants; for the highwaymen in France do not always give a traveller the civility of bidding him ſtand and deliver his money, but frequently fire upon him firſt, and then take his money.

We ſtaid one day at Amiens, to adjuſt this little diſorder, and walked about the town, and into the great church, but ſaw nothing very remarkable there; but going croſs a broad ſtreet near the great church, we ſaw a crowd of people gazing at a mountebank doctor, who made a long harangue to them with many antic poſtures, and gave out bills this way, and boxes of phyſic that way, and had a great trade; when on a ſudden the people raiſed a cry, Larron! Larron*! on the other ſide the ſtreet, and many of the auditors ran away from

* Thief! Thief!

the doctor to ſee what the matter was—among the reſt we went to ſee; and the caſe was plain enough.

Two Engliſh gentlemen and a Scotchman, travellers, as we were, were ſtanding gazing at this prating doctor, and one of them caught a fellow picking his pocket: the fellow had got ſome of his money, for he dropt two or three pieces juſt by him, and had got hold of his watch, but being ſurpriſed, let it ſlip again: but the reaſon of telling this ſtory is for the management of it.

The thief had his ſeconds ſo ready, that as ſoon as the Engliſhman had ſeized him, they fell in, pretended to be mighty zealous for the ſtranger, takes the fellow by the throat, and makes a great buſtle. The gentleman, not doubting but the man was ſecured, let go his own hold of him, and left him to them. The hubbub was great; and 'twas theſe fellows cried Larron! Larron! but with a dexterity peculiar to themſelves had let the right fellow go, and ſeized upon another of their own gang.

At laſt they bring the man to the gentleman, to aſk him what the fellow had done; who, when he ſaw the perſon they ſeized on, preſently told them that was not the man: then they ſeemed to be in more conſternation than before, and ſpread themſelves all over the ſtreet, crying Larron! Larron! pretending to ſearch for the fellow—ſome went one way, ſome another—they were all gone—the noiſe went over—the gentlemen ſtood looking one

at another—and the bawling doctor began to have the crowd about him again.

This was the firſt French trick I had the opportunity of ſeeing; but I was told they have a great many more as dexterous as this.

We ſoon got acquaintance with theſe gentlemen, who were going to Paris as well as we; ſo the next day we made up our company with them, and were a pretty troop of five gentlemen and four ſervants.

As we had really no deſign to ſtay long at Paris, ſo indeed, excepting the city itſelf, there was not much to be ſeen there. Cardinal Richelieu, who was not only a ſupreme miniſter in the church, but prime miniſter in the ſtate, was now made alſo general of the king's forces, with a title never known in France before nor ſince, viz. Lieutenant-general *au Place du Roy*, in the king's ſtead, or, as ſome have ſince tranſlated it, repreſenting the perſon of the king.

Under this character he pretended to execute all the royal powers in the army without appeal to the king, or without waiting for orders; and having parted from Paris the winter before, had now actually begun the war againſt the duke of Savoy, in the proceſs of which he reſtored the duke of Mantua; and having taken Pignerol from the duke, put it into ſuch a ſtate of defence as the duke could never force it out of his hands, and reduced the duke, rather by manage and conduct than by

force, to make peace without it; ſo as annexing it to the crown of France, it has ever ſince been a thorn in his foot, that has always made the peace of Savoy lame and precarious; and France has ſince made Pignerol one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in the world.

As the cardinal, with all the military part of the court, was in the field, ſo the king, to be near him, was gone with the queen and all the court, juſt before I reached Paris, to reſide at Lyons. All theſe conſidered, there was nothing to do at Paris: the court looked like a citizen's houſe when the family are all gone into the country; and I thought the whole city looked very melancholy, compared to the fine things I had heard of it.

The queen mother and her party were chagrined at the cardinal, who, though he owed his grandeur to her immediate favour, was now grown too great any longer to be at the command of her majeſty, or indeed in her intereſt; and therefore the queen was under diſſatisfaction, and her party looked very much down.

The Proteſtants were every where diſconſolate; for the loſſes they had received at Rochelle, Niſmes, and Montpellier, had reduced them to an abſolute dependence on the king's will, without all poſſible hopes of ever recovering themſelves, or being ſo much as in a condition to take arms for their religion; and therefore the wiſeſt of them plainly fore-

ſaw their own entire reduction, as it ſince came to paſs: and I remember very well, that a Proteſtant gentleman told me once, as we were paſſing from Orleans to Lyons, that the Engliſh had ruined them; "and therefore," ſays he, "I think the "next occaſion the king takes to uſe us ill, as I "know 'twill not be long before he does, we muſt "all fly over to England, where you are bound to "maintain us for having helped to turn us out of "our own country."

I aſked him what he meant by ſaying the Engliſh had done it?

He returned ſhort upon me—"I do not mean," ſays he, "by not relieving Rochelle, but by helping "to ruin Rochelle, when you and the Dutch lent "ſhips to beat our fleet, which all the ſhips in "France could not have done without you."

I was too young in the world to be very ſenſible of this before, and therefore was ſomething ſtartled at the charge; but when I came to diſcourſe with this gentleman, I ſoon ſaw the truth of what he ſaid was undeniable, and have ſince reflected on it with regret, that the naval power of the Proteſtants, which was then ſuperior to the royal, would certainly have been the recovery of all their fortunes, had it not been unhappily broken by their brethren of England and Holland, the former lending ſeven men of war, and the latter twenty, for the deſtruction of the Rochellers' fleet; and by thoſe very

ſhips the Rochellers' fleet were actually beaten and deſtroyed, and they never afterward recovered their force at ſea, and by conſequence ſunk under the ſiege, which the Engliſh afterwards in vain attempted to prevent.

Theſe things made the Proteſtants look very dull, and expected the ruin of all their party; which had certainly happened, had the cardinal lived a few years longer.

We ſtaid in Paris about three weeks, as well to ſee the court, and what rarities the place afforded, as by an occaſion which had like to have put a ſhort period to our ramble.

Walking one morning before the gate of the Louvre, with a deſign to ſee the Swiſs drawn up, which they always did, and exerciſed juſt before they relieved the guards, a page came up to me, and, ſpeaking Engliſh, "Sir," ſays he, "the cap-"tain muſt needs have your immediate aſſiſtance."

I had not the knowledge of any perſon in Paris but my own companion, whom I called captain; had no room to queſtion but it was he that ſent for me; and crying out haſtily to him, "Where?" followed the fellow as faſt as it was poſſible. He led me through ſeveral paſſages which I knew not, and at laſt through a tennis court and into a large room, where three men, like gentlemen, were engaged very briſkly, two againſt one. The room being dark, I could not eaſily know them; but

being fully poſſeſſed with an opinion before of my captain's danger, I ran into the room with my ſword in my hand: I had not particularly engaged any of them, nor ſo much as made a paſs at any, when I received a ſharp thruſt in my thigh, rather occaſioned by my haſty running in than a real deſign of the perſon; but enraged at the ſmart, without examining who it was hurt me, I threw myſelf upon him, and run my ſword through his body.

The novelty of the adventure, and the unexpected fall of the man, by a ſtranger come in nobody knew how, had becalmed the other two, that they really ſtood gazing at me. By this time I had diſcovered that my captain was not there, and that it was ſome ſtrange accident brought me thither.

I could ſpeak but little French, and ſuppoſed they could ſpeak as little Engliſh; ſo I ſtepped to the door to ſee for the page that brought me thither; but ſeeing nobody there, and the paſſage clear, I made off as faſt as I could, without ſpeaking a word; nor did the other two gentlemen offer to ſtop me.

But I was in a ſtrange confuſion when, coming into thoſe entries and paſſages which the page led me through, I could by no means find my way out: at laſt ſeeing a door open that looked through a houſe into the ſtreet, I went in, and out at the other door; but then I was at as great a loſs to know where I was, and which was the way to my

lodging. The wound in my thigh bled apace, and I could feel the blood in my breeches.

In this interval came by a chair — I called and went into it, and bid them, as well as I could, go to the Louvre; for though I knew not the name of the ſtreet where I lodged, I knew I could find the way to it when I was at the Baſtile.

The chairmen went on their own way; and being ſtopped by a company of the guards as they went, ſet me down till the ſoldiers were marched by; when, looking out, I found I was juſt at my own lodging, and my companion captain Fielding was ſtanding at the door looking for me: I beckoned him to me, and, whiſpering, told him I was very much hurt; but bid him pay the chairmen, and aſk no queſtions, but come to me.

I made the beſt of my way up ſtairs; but had loſt ſo much blood, that I had hardly ſpirits enough to keep me from ſwooning till he came in.

He was equally concerned with me to ſee me in ſuch a terrible condition, and preſently called up our landlord, and he as quickly called in his neighbours, that I had a room full of people about me in a quarter of an hour.

But this had like to have been of worſe conſequence to me than the other; for by this time there was great inquiring after the perſon who had killed a man at the tennis court.

My landlord was then ſenſible of his miſtake,

and came to me and told me the danger I was in, and very honeſtly offered to convey me to a friend's of his, where I ſhould be very ſecure.

I thanked him, and ſuffered myſelf to be carried at midnight whither he pleaſed: he viſited me very often till I was well enough to walk about, which was not in leſs than ten days, and then we thought fit to be gone; ſo we took poſt for Orleans: but when I came upon the road I found myſelf in a new error, for my wound opened again with riding, and I was in a worſe condition than before, being forced to take up at a little village on the road, about ten miles from Orleans, where there was no ſurgeon to be had, but a country barber, who, nevertheleſs, dreſſed me as well as he could, and in about a week more I was able to walk. Here I ſtaid till I was quite well, and then took coach for Lyons, and ſo through Savoy into Italy.

I ſpent near two years time after this bad beginning in travelling through Italy, and to the ſeveral courts of Rome, Naples, Venice, and Vienna.

When I came to Lyons the king was gone from thence to Grenoble to meet the cardinal, but the queens were both at Lyons.

The French affairs ſeemed at this time to have but an indifferent aſpect — there was no life in any but where the cardinal was: he puſhed on every thing with extraordinary conduct, and generally with ſucceſs. He had taken Suza and Pignerol

from the duke of Savoy, and was preparing to thruſt the duke even out of all his dominions.

But in the mean time every where elſe things looked ill — the troops were badly paid, the magazines empty, the people mutinous, and a general diſorder ſeized the minds of the court; and the cardinal, who was the ſoul of every thing, deſired this interview at Grenoble, in order to put affairs into ſome better method.

This politic miniſter always ordered matters ſo, that if there was ſucceſs in any thing, the glory was his; but if things miſcarried, it was all laid upon the king.

This conduct was ſo much the more nice, as it is the direct contrary to the cuſtom in like caſes, where kings aſſume the glory of all the ſucceſs in an action; and when a thing miſcarries, make themſelves eaſy by ſacrificing their miniſters and favourites to the complaints and reſentments of the people: but this accurate, refined ſtateſman got over this point.

While we were at Lyons, and, as I remember, the third day after our coming thither, we had like to have been involved in a ſtate broil, without knowing where we were: it was on a Sunday, in the evening. The people of Lyons, who had been ſorely oppreſſed in taxes, and the war in Italy pinching their trade, began to be very tumultuous. We found the day before the mob got toge-

ther in great crowds, and talked ſtrangely: the king was every where reviled, and ſpoken diſreſpectfully of, and the magiſtrates of the city either winked at, or durſt not attempt to meddle, leſt they ſhould provoke the people.

But on Sunday night, about midnight, we were waked by a prodigious noiſe in the ſtreet. I jumped out of bed, and, running to the window, I ſaw the ſtreet as full of mob as it could hold, ſome, armed with muſquets and halbards, marched in very good order; others in diſorderly crowds—all ſhouting and crying out, "*Du Paix le Roy!*"

One that led a great party of this rabble carried a loaf of bread upon the top of a pike, and other leſs loaves, ſignifying the ſmallneſs of their bread, occaſioned by dearneſs.

By morning the crowd was gathered to a great heighth: they ran roving over the whole city, ſhut up the ſhops, and forced the people to join with them; from thence they went up to the caſtle, and, renewing the clamour, a ſtrange conſternation ſeized the princes.

They broke open the doors of the officers, collectors of the new taxes, and plundered their houſes; and had not the perſons themſelves fled in time, they had been very ill treated.

The queen mother, as ſhe was very much diſpleaſed to ſee ſuch conſequences of the government,

in whoſe management ſhe had no ſhare, ſo I ſuppoſe ſhe had the leſs concern upon her.

However, ſhe came into the court of the caſtle, and ſhewed herſelf to the people, gave money amongſt them, and ſpoke gently to them; and, by a way peculiar to herſelf, ſhe pacified the mob, and ſent them home with promiſes of redreſs; and ſo appeaſed this tumult in two days by her prudence, which the guards in the caſtle had ſmall mind to meddle with, and if they had, would, in all probability, have made the better ſide the worſe.

There had been ſeveral ſeditions of the like nature in ſundry other parts of France; and the very army began to murmur, though not to mutiny, for want of proviſions.

This ſedition at Lyons was not quite over when we left the place; for, finding the city all in a broil, we conſidered we had no buſineſs there; and what the conſequence of a popular tumult might be we did not ſee, ſo we prepared to be gone.

We had not rid above three miles out of the city but we were brought as priſoners of war by a party of mutineers, who had been abroad upon the ſcout, and were charged with being meſſengers ſent to the cardinal for forces to reduce the citizens: with theſe pretences they brought us back in triumph, and the queen mother being by this time grown ſomething familiar to them, they carried us before her.

When they inquired of us who we were, we called ourſelves Scots; for as the Engliſh were very much out of favour in France at this time, the peace having been made not many months, and not ſuppoſed to be very durable, becauſe particularly diſpleaſing to the people of England; ſo the Scots were on the other extreme with the French. Nothing was ſo much careſſed as the Scots; and a man had no more to do in France, if he would be well received there, than to ſay he was a Scotchman.

When we came before the queen mother ſhe ſeemed to receive us with ſome ſtiffneſs at firſt, and ordered her guards to keep us in cuſtody; but as ſhe was a lady of moſt exquiſite politics, ſhe did this to amuſe the mob, and we were immediately after diſmiſſed; and the queen herſelf made a handſome excuſe to us for the rudeneſs we had ſuffered, alledging the troubles of the times; and the next morning we had three dragoons of the guards to convoy us out of the juriſdiction of Lyons.

I confeſs this little adventure gave me an averſion to popular tumults all my life after; and if nothing elſe had been in the cauſe, would have biaſſed me to eſpouſe the king's party in England when our popular heats carried all before it at home.

But I muſt ſay, that, when I called to mind

ſince, the addreſs, the management, the compliance in ſhew, and, in general, the whole conduct of the queen mother with the mutinous people of Lyons, and compared it with the conduct of my unhappy maſter the king of England, I could not but ſee that the queen underſtood much better than king Charles the management of politics, and the clamours of the people.

Had this princeſs been at the helm in England, ſhe would have prevented all the calamities of the civil war here, and yet not have parted with what that prince yielded in order to peace neither: ſhe would have yielded gradually, and then gained upon them gradually: ſhe would have managed them to the point ſhe had deſigned them, as ſhe did all parties in France; and none could effectually ſubject her but the very man ſhe had raiſed to be her principal ſupport — I mean the cardinal.

We went from hence to Grenoble, and arrived there the ſame day that the king and the cardinal, with the whole court, went out to view a body of ſix thouſand Swiſs foot, which the cardinal had wheedled the cantons to grant to the king to haſten the ruin of their neighbour the duke of Savoy.

The troops were exceeding fine, well accoutred, brave, clean limbed, ſtout fellows indeed.

Here I ſaw the cardinal: there was an air of church gravity in his habit, but all the vigour of a general, and the ſprightlineſs of a vaſt genius in

his face; he affected a little ſtiffneſs in his behaviour, but managed all his affairs with ſuch clearneſs, ſuch ſteadineſs, and ſuch application, that it was no wonder he had ſuch ſucceſs in every undertaking.

Here I ſaw alſo the king, whoſe figure was mean, his countenance was hollow, and always ſeemed dejected, and every way diſcovering that weakneſs in his countenance that appeared in his actions.

If he was ever ſprightly and vigorous, it was when the cardinal was with him; for he depended ſo much on every thing he did, that he was at the utmoſt dilemma when he was abſent, always timorous, jealous, and irreſolute.

After the review the cardinal was abſent ſome days, having been to wait on the queen mother at Lyons, where, as it was ſaid, they were at leaſt ſeemingly reconciled.

I obſerved, while the cardinal was gone, there was no court, the king was ſeldom to be ſeen, very ſmall attendance given, and no buſtle at the caſtle; but as ſoon as the cardinal returned the great councils were aſſembled, the coaches of the ambaſſadors went every day to the caſtle, and a face of buſineſs appeared upon the whole court.

Here the meaſures of the duke of Savoy's ruin were concerted; and, in order to it, the king and the cardinal put themſelves at the head of the army, with which they immediately reduced all Savoy,

took Chamberry and the whole duchy, except Montmelian.

The army that did this was not above twenty-two thouſand men, including the Swiſs, and but indifferent troops neither, eſpecially the French foot, who, compared to the infantry I have ſince ſeen in the German and Swediſh armies, were not fit to be called ſoldiers. On the other hand, conſidering the Savoyards and Italian troops, they were good troops; but the cardinal's conduct made amends for all theſe deficiencies.

From hence I went to Pignerol, which was then little more than a ſingle fortification on the hill near the town called St. Bride's; but the ſituation of that was very ſtrong. I mention this becauſe of the prodigious works ſince added to it, by which it has ſince obtained the name of the right hand of France: they had begun a new line below the hill, and ſome works were marked out on the ſide of the town next the fort; but the cardinal afterwards drew the plan of the works with his own hand, by which it was made one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in Europe.

While I was at Pignerol the governor of Milan, for the Spaniards, came with an army and ſat down before Caſal. The grand quarrel, and for which the war in this part of Italy was begun, was this:—the Spaniards and Germans pretended to the duchy of Mantua; the duke of Nevers, a Frenchman,

had not only a title to it, but had got poſſeſſion of it, but being ill ſupported by the French, was beaten out by the Imperialiſts, and after a long ſiege the Germans took Mantua itſelf, and drove the poor duke quite out of the country.

The taking of Mantua elevated the ſpirits of the duke of Savoy; and the Germans and Spaniards being now at more leiſure, with a complete army came to his aſſiſtance, and formed the ſiege of Montferrat.

For as the Spaniards puſhed the duke of Mantua, ſo the French, by way of diverſion, lay hard upon the duke of Savoy: they had ſeized Montferrat, and held it for the duke of Mantua, and had a ſtrong French garriſon under Thoiras, a brave and experienced commander; and thus affairs ſtood when we came into the French army.

I had no buſineſs there as a ſoldier; but having paſſed as a Scotch gentleman with the mob at Lyons, and after with her majeſty, the queen mother, when we obtained the guard of her dragoons, we had alſo her majeſty's paſs, with which we came and went where we pleaſed; and the cardinal, who was then not on very good terms with the queen, but willing to keep ſmooth water there, when two or three times our paſſes came to be examined, ſhewed a more than ordinary reſpect to us on that very account, our paſſes being from the queen.

Caſal being beſieged, as I have obſerved, began

to be in danger, for the cardinal, who it was thought had formed a deſign to ruin Savoy, was more intent upon that than upon the ſuccour of the duke of Mantua; but neceſſity calling upon him to deliver ſo great a captain as Thoiras, and not to let ſuch a place as Caſal fall into the hands of the enemy, the king, or cardinal rather, ordered the duke of Montmorency and the mareſchal d'Effiat, with ten thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, to march and join the mareſchals de la Force and Schomberg, who lay already with an army on the frontiers of Genoa, but too weak to attempt the raiſing the ſiege of Caſal.

As all men thought there would be a battle between the French and the Spaniards, I could not prevail with myſelf to loſe the opportunity, and therefore, by the help of the paſſes above mentioned, I came to the French army under the duke of Montmorency. We marched through the enemy's country with great boldneſs and no ſmall hazard, for the duke of Savoy appeared frequently with great bodies of horſe on the rear of the army, and frequently ſkirmiſhed with our troops; in one of which I had the folly, I can call it no better, for I had no buſineſs there, to go out and ſee the ſport, as the French gentlemen called it.

I was but a raw ſoldier, and did not like the ſport at all; for this party was ſurrounded by the

duke of Savoy, and almoſt all killed, for as to quarter, they neither aſked nor gave any.

I run away very fairly one of the firſt, and my companion with me, and by the goodneſs of our horſes got out of the fray; and being not much known in the army, we came into the camp an hour or two after, as if we had been only riding abroad for the air.

This little rout made the general very cautious; for the Savoyards were ſtronger in horſe by three or four thouſand, and the army always marched in a body, and kept their parties in or very near hand.

I eſcaped another rub in this French army about five days after, which had like to have made me pay dear for my curioſity.

The duke de Montmorency and the mareſchal Schomberg joined their army about four or five days after, and immediately, according to the cardinal's inſtructions, put themſelves on the march for the relief of Caſal.

The army had marched over a great plain, with ſome marſhy grounds on the right, and the Po on the left; and as the country was ſo well diſcovered that it was thought impoſſible any miſchief ſhould happen, the generals obſerved the leſs caution. At the end of this plain was a long wood, and a lane or narrow defile through the middle of it.

Through this paſs the army was to march, and

the van began to file through it about four o'clock; by three hours time all the army was got through, or into the paſs, and the artillery was juſt entered, when the duke of Savoy, with four thouſand horſe, and fifteen hundred dragoons, with every horſeman a footman behind him; whether he had ſwam the Po, or paſſed it above at a bridge, and made a long march after, was not examined, but he came boldly up the plain, and charged our rear with a great deal of fury.

Our artillery was in the lane, and as it was impoſſible to turn them about, and make way for the army, ſo the rear were obliged to ſupport themſelves, and maintain the fight for above an hour and a half.

In this time we loſt abundance of men, and if it had not been for two accidents, all that line would have been cut off: one was, that the wood was ſo near, that thoſe regiments which were diſordered preſently ſheltered themſelves in the wood; the other was, that by this time marſhal Schomberg, with the horſe of the van, began to get back through the lane, and to make good the ground from whence the other had been beaten, till at laſt, by this means, it came to almoſt a pitched battle.

There were two regiments of French dragoons who did excellent ſervice in this action, and maintained their ground till they were almoſt all killed.

Had the duke of Savoy contented himſelf with the defeat of five regiments on the right, which he quite broke and drove into the wood, and with the ſlaughter and havock which he had made among the reſt, he had come off with honour, and might have called it a victory; but endeavouring to break the whole party, and carry off ſome cannon, the obſtinate reſiſtance of theſe few dragoons loſt him his advantages, and held him in play till ſo many freſh troops got through the paſs again as made us too ſtrong for him; and had not night parted them, he had been entirely defeated.

At laſt, finding our troops increaſe and ſpread themſelves on his flank, he gave over and retired: we had no great ſtomach to purſue him neither, though ſome horſe were ordered to follow a little way.

The duke loſt above a thouſand men, and we almoſt twice as many; and, but for thoſe dragoons, had loſt the whole rear-guard and half our cannon.

I was in a very ſorry caſe in this action too: I was with the rear in the regiment of horſe of Perigoort, with a captain of which regiment I had contracted ſome acquaintance. I would have rid off at firſt, as the captain deſired me, but there was no doing it, for the cannon was in the lane, and the horſe and dragoons of the van, eagerly preſſing back through the lane, muſt have run me down, or

carried me with them. As for the wood, it was a good ſhelter to ſave one's life, but was ſo thick there was no paſſing it on horſeback.

Our regiment was one of the firſt that was broke; and being all in confuſion, with the duke of Savoy's men at our heels, away we ran into the wood. Never was there ſo much diſorder among a parcel of runaways as when we came to this wood: it was ſo exceeding buſhy and thick at the bottom there was no entering it; and a volley of ſmall ſhot from a regiment of Savoy's dragoons, poured in upon us at our breaking into the wood, made terrible work amongſt our horſes.

For my part, I was got into the wood, but was forced to quit my horſe, and by that means, with a great deal of difficulty, got a little farther in, where there was a little open place, and, being quite ſpent with labouring among the buſhes, I ſat down, reſolving to take my fate there, let it be what it would, for I was not able to go any farther. I had twenty or thirty more, in the ſame condition, came to me in leſs than half an hour; and here we waited very ſecurely the ſucceſs of the battle, which was as I have related.

It was no ſmall relief to thoſe with me to hear the Savoyards were beaten, for otherwiſe they had all been loſt: as for myſelf, I confeſs, I was glad as it was, becauſe of the danger; but otherwiſe I

cared not much which had the better, for I deſigned no ſervice among them.

One kindneſs it did me, that I began to conſider what I had to do here; and as I could give but a very ſlender account of myſelf for what it was I ran all theſe riſques, ſo I reſolved they ſhould fight it out among themſelves, for I would come among them no more.

The captain with whom, as I noted before, I had contracted ſome acquaintance in this regiment, was killed in this action, and the French had really a great blow here, though they took care to conceal it all they could; and I cannot, without ſmiling, read ſome of the hiſtories and memoirs of this action, which they are not aſhamed to call a victory.

We marched on to Saluces, and the next day the duke of Savoy preſented himſelf in battalia on the other ſide of a ſmall river, giving us a fair challenge to paſs and engage him. We always ſaid in our camp that the orders were to fight the duke of Savoy wherever we met him; but though he braved us in our view, we did not care to engage him, but we brought Saluces to ſurrender upon articles, which the duke could not relieve without attacking our camp, which he did not care to do.

The next morning we had news of the ſurrender of Mantua to the Imperial army: we heard of it firſt from the duke of Savoy's cannon, which he

fired by way of rejoicing, and which ſeemed to make him amends for the loſs of Saluces.

As this was a mortification to the French, ſo it quite damped the ſucceſs of the campaign, for the duke de Montmorency imagining that the Imperial general would ſend immediate aſſiſtance to the marquis Spinola, who beſieged Caſal, they called frequent councils of war what courſe to take, and at laſt reſolved to halt in Piedmont.

A few days after their reſolutions were changed again, by the news of the death of the duke of Savoy, Charles Emanuel, who died, as ſome ſay, agitated with the extremes of joy and grief.

This put our generals upon conſidering again whether they ſhould march to the relief of Caſal; but the chimera of the Germans put them by, and ſo they took up quarters in Piedmont: they took ſeveral ſmall places from the duke of Savoy, making advantage of the conſternation the duke's ſubjects were in on the death of their prince, and ſpread themſelves from the ſea ſide to the banks of the Po.

But here an enemy did that for them which the Savoyards could not, for the plague got into their quarters, and deſtroyed abundance of people, both of the army and of the country.

I thought then it was time for me to be gone, for I had no manner of courage for that riſque; and I think verily I was more afraid of being taken

ſick in a ſtrange country than ever I was of being killed in battle.

Upon this reſolution I procured a paſs to go for Genoa, and accordingly began my journey, but was arreſted at Villa Franca by a ſlow lingering fever, which held me about five days, and then turned to a burning malignancy, and at laſt to the plague. My friend, the captain, never left me night nor day; and though for four days I knew nobody, nor was capable of ſo much as thinking of myſelf, yet it pleaſed God that the diſtemper gathered in my neck, ſwelled, and broke: during the ſwelling I was raging mad with the violence of pain, which being ſo near my head, ſwelled that alſo in proportion, that my eyes were in the ſame condition, and for twenty-four hours my tongue and mouth: then, as my ſervant ſince told me, the phyſicians gave me over as paſt all remedy, but by the good providence of God the ſwelling broke.

The prodigious collection of matter which this ſwelling diſcharged gave me immediate relief, and I became ſenſible in leſs than an hour's time; and in two hours, or thereabouts, fell into a little ſlumber, which recovered my ſpirits, and ſenſibly revived me.

Here I lay by it till the 10th of September. My captain fell ſick after me, bur recovered quickly: his man had the plague, and died in two days: my man held it out well.

About the middle of September we heard of a truce concluded between all parties; and being unwilling to winter at Villa Franca, I got paſſes, and, though we were both but weak, began to travel in litters for Milan.

And here I experienced the truth of the old Engliſh proverb, "That ſtanders-by ſee more than "the gameſters."

The French, Savoyards, and Spaniards, made this peace or truce all for ſeparate and ſeveral grounds, and every one were miſtaken.

The French yielded to it becauſe they had given over the relief of Caſal, and were very much afraid it would fall into the hands of the marquis Spinola.

The Savoyards yielded to it becauſe they were afraid the French would winter in Piedmont.

The Spaniards yielded to it becauſe the duke of Savoy being dead, and the count de Colalto, the Imperial general, giving no aſſiſtance, and his army weakened by ſickneſs and the fatigues of the ſiege, he foreſaw he ſhould never take the town, and wanted but to come off with honour.

The French were miſtaken, becauſe really Spinola was ſo weak, that, had they marched on into Montferrat, the Spaniards muſt have raiſed the ſiege.

The duke of Savoy was miſtaken, becauſe the plague had ſo weakened the French, that they durſt not have ſtaid to winter in Piedmont; and

Spinola was miſtaken; for though he was very ſlow, if he had ſtaid before the town one fortnight longer, Thoiras, the governor, muſt have ſurrendered, being brought to the laſt extremity.

Of all theſe miſtakes the French had the advantage, for Caſal was relieved, the army had time to be recruited, and the French had the beſt of it by an early campaign.

I paſſed through Montferrat in my way to Milan juſt as the truce was declared, and ſaw the miſerable remains of the Spaniſh army, who by ſickneſs, fatigue, hard duty, the ſallies of the garriſon, and ſuch like conſequences, were reduced to leſs than two thouſand men, and of them above one thouſand lay wounded and ſick in the camp.

Here were ſeveral regiments which I ſaw drawn out to their arms that could not make up above ſeventy or eighty men, officers and all, and thoſe half ſtarved with hunger, almoſt naked, and in a lamentable condition.

From thence I went into the town, and there things were ſtill in a worſe condition — the houſes beaten down; the walls and works ruined; the garriſon, by continual duty, reduced from four thouſand five hundred men to leſs than eight hundred, without clothes, money, or proviſions; the brave governor weak with continual fatigue, and the whole face of things in a miſerable caſe.

The French generals had juſt ſent them thirty

thouſand crowns for preſent ſupply, which heartened them a little; but had not the truce been made as it was, they muſt have ſurrendered upon what terms the Spaniards had pleaſed to make them.

Never were two armies in ſuch fear of one another with ſo little cauſe; the Spaniards afraid of the French whom the plague had devoured, and the French afraid of the Spaniards whom the ſiege had almoſt ruined.

The grief of this miſtake, together with the ſenſe of his maſter, the Spaniards leaving him without ſupplies to complete the ſiege of Caſal, ſo affected the marquis Spinola, that he died of grief, and in him fell the laſt of that rare breed of Low-Country ſoldiers who gave the world ſo great and juſt a character of the Spaniſh infantry as the beſt ſoldiers in the world — a character which we ſee them ſo very much degenerated from ſince, that they hardly deſerve the name of ſoldiers.

I continued at Milan the reſt of the winter, both for the recovery of my health, and alſo for ſupplies from England.

Here it was I firſt heard the name of Guſtavus Adolphus, the king of Sweden, who now began his war with the emperor; and while the king of France was at Lyons the league with Sweden was made, in which the French contributed one million two hundred thouſand crowns in money, and ſix

hundred thouſand per annum to the attempt of Guſtavus Adolphus. About this time he landed in Pomerania, took the towns of Stetin and Straelſund, and from thence proceeded in that prodigious manner, of which I ſhall have occaſion to be very particular in the proſecution of theſe memoirs.

I had indeed no deſign of ſeeing that king, or his armies: I had been ſo roughly handled already, that I had given over the thoughts of appearing among the fighting people, and reſolved in the ſpring to purſue my journey to Venice, and ſo for the reſt of Italy.

Yet I cannot deny that as every gazette gave us ſome accounts of the conqueſts and victories of this glorious prince, it prepoſſeſſed my thoughts with ſecret wiſhes of ſeeing him; but theſe were ſo young and unſettled, that I drew no reſolutions from them for a long while after.

About the middle of January I left Milan and came to Genoa; from thence by ſea to Leghorn; then to Naples, Rome, and Venice; but ſaw nothing in Italy that gave me any diverſion.

As for what is modern, I heard of little but lewdneſs, private murders, ſtabbing men at the corner of a ſtreet in the dark, poiſoning, twiſting of the neck, hiring of bravoes, and the like; all the diverſions here ended in the commiſſion of every debauchery: theſe were to me the modern excellencies of Italy; and I had no taſte for antiquities.

It was pleaſant indeed when I was at Rome to ſay, here ſtood the Capitol — there the coluſſus of Nero — here was the amphitheatre of Titus — there the aqueduct—here the forum—there the catacombs—here the temple of Venus — there of Jupiter — here the Pantheon, &c.; but as I never deſigned to publiſh my travels, as much as was uſeful I kept in my memory, and for the reſt I left it to others.

I obſerved the people degenerated from the ancient glorious inhabitants, who were generous, brave, and the moſt valiant of all nations, to a vicious baſeneſs of ſoul, barbarous, treacherous, jealous and revengeful, lewd and cowardly, intolerably proud and haughty, bigoted to blind, incoherent devotion, and the groſſeſt of idolatry.

Indeed I think the unſuitableneſs of the people made the place unpleaſant to me; for there is ſo little in a country to recommend it when the people diſgrace it, that no beauties of the creation can make up for the want of thoſe excellencies which ſuitable ſociety procure the defect of: this made Italy a very unpleaſant country to me; the people were the foil to the place, all manner of hateful vices reigning in their general way of living.

I confeſs I was not very religious myſelf, and, being come abroad into the world young, might eaſily have been drawn into evils that had recommended themſelves with any tolerable agreeableneſs to nature and common manners; but when wicked-

neſs preſented itſelf full grown, in its groſſeſt freedoms and liberties, it quite took away all the taſte to vice that the tempter had furniſhed me with; and in this I cannot but relate a ſcene which paſſed.

At a certain town in Italy, one evening as I was paſſing a lady, I luckily prevented her falling, and offered my ſervice to ſee her home, which ſhe very politely accepted; and when ſhe came there, ſhe, with equal politeneſs, deſired me to walk in.

Hitherto I had ſeen but little of her; but when her maid had unrobed her, I beheld ſuch a figure, face, and ſhape, as I had never ſeen before: add to all this the magnificence of her apartments, cabinet of plate, with every thing in proportion, made me imagine that ſhe was a lady of the firſt quality.

When we were ſeated, and her ſervant retired, ſhe, finding I was an Engliſhman, queſtioned me concerning my travels. When I had informed her, ſhe entered into an agreeable relation concerning herſelf; when I ſoon found, from a freedom which ſhe took, that ſhe was, what we call in London, a woman of the town.

Though ſhe was a fine woman, and her converſation extremely agreeable, I had not an inclination to an intrigue, and began to recollect where I was, and that in this country theſe were people not to be affronted; and as ſhe eaſily ſaw the confuſion I was in, ſhe changed her diſcourſe with admirable

dexterity, by ſaying, for the kindneſs I had ſhewn her, ſhe received me as only a viſitant, and rang for her ſervant, and ordered her to bring ſome ſweet-meats and wine.

Here I was more in confuſion than before; for I concluded ſhe would neither offer me to eat nor to drink without poiſon, and I was cautious of taſting her treat; but ſhe removed this fear immediately, by her eating and drinking of every thing ſhe offered me. Whether ſhe perceived my warineſs, or the reaſon of it, I know not; I could not for ſome time get rid of my ſuſpicion: but the obliging behaviour and politeneſs of her converſation had ſo much power over me, that, at length, I both ate and drank without the leaſt heſitation.

After I had been there above an hour, I aroſe to take my leave, and preſented her five piſtoles, which ſhe refuſed to take, ſaying, ſhe could not in honour accept, as I had not received any favours: I then laid the pieces on the table—ſtill ſhe refuſed them—till, at laſt, ſhe, ſmiling, ſaid, if I would give her my word of honour that I would pay her another viſit, ſhe would comply with my requeſt; and I immediately took my leave.

The evening but two after I had the curioſity to go to one of their churches to ſee their devotions, where I obſerved this very lady devoutly at her prayers. At her coming out of the church I ſpoke

to her: ſhe paid me her reſpects with a deal of good nature, and again I ſaw her ſafe home.

From this time I viſited her frequently, and with a great deal of freedom, as well on her part as on mine, for ſhe behaved to me rather as a friend than a gallant; and ſo far was ſhe from the generality of thoſe of her profeſſion, that I could never prevail upon her to accept of any other preſent than what I have already related.

She informed me ſhe was a Spaniard by birth, and brought into Italy by her father, who was a merchant, when ſix years old: that ſhe had been there fifteen years; and in that time ſhe had been deprived of her parents, the loſs of whom was the cauſe of her ſeduction: that the Italians were a vicious people, and many of them, of both ſexes, even againſt nature; though, ſhe ſaid, ſhe never could ſubmit to ſuch vile proſtitution herſelf, yet ſuch were to be found in almoſt every ſtreet, and in almoſt every rank of life.

The end of my relating this ſtory is anſwered in deſcribing the manner of their addreſs, without bringing myſelf to confeſſion: if I did any thing I have reaſon to be aſhamed of, it may be a leſs crime to conceal it than expoſe it.

The particulars related, however, may lead the reader of theſe ſheets to a view of what gave me a particular diſguſt at this pleaſant part of the world,

as they pretend to call it, and made me quit the place ſooner than travellers uſe to do that come thither to ſatisfy their curioſity.

The prodigious ſtupid bigotry of the people alſo was irkſome to me: I thought there was ſomething in it very ſordid; the entire empire the prieſts have over both the ſouls and bodies of the people gave me a ſpecimen of that meanneſs of ſpirit which is no where elſe to be ſeen but in Italy, eſpecially in the city of Rome.

At Venice I perceived it quite different; the civil authority having a viſible ſuperiority over the eccleſiaſtic, and the church being more ſubject there to the ſtate than in any other part of Italy.

For theſe reaſons I took no pleaſure in filling my memoirs of Italy with remarks of places or things; all the antiquities and valuable remains of the Roman nation are done better than I can pretend to by ſuch people who made it more their buſineſs: as for me, I went to ſee, and not to write, and as little thought then of theſe memoirs as I ill furniſhed myſelf to write them.

I left Italy in April, and taking the tour of Bavaria, though very much out of the way, I paſſed through Munich, Paſſaw, Lints, and at laſt to Vienna.

I came to Vienna the 10th of April, 1631, intending to have gone from thence down the Danube into Hungary, and by means of a paſs, which I

had obtained from the Engliſh ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, I deſigned to have ſeen all thoſe great towns on the Danube which were then in the hands of the Turks, and which I had read much of in the hiſtory of the war between the Turks and the Germans; but I was diverted from my deſign by the following occaſion.

There had been a long bloody war in the empire of Germany for twelve years, between the emperor, the duke of Bavaria, the king of Spain, and the popiſh princes and electors, on the one ſide, and the proteſtant princes on the other; and both ſides having been exhauſted by the war, and even the catholics themſelves beginning to diſlike the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria, it was thought all parties were willing to make peace.

Nay, things were brought to that paſs, that ſome of the popiſh princes and electors began to talk of making alliances with Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden.

Here it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the two dukes of Mecklenburg having been diſpoſſeſſed of moſt of their dominions by the tyranny of the emperor Ferdinand, and being in danger of loſing the reſt, earneſtly ſolicited the king of Sweden to come to their aſſiſtance; and that prince, as he was related to the houſe of Mecklenburg, and eſpecially as he was willing to lay hold of any opportunity to break with the emperor, againſt whom he had laid

up an implacable prejudice, was very ready and forward to come to their aſſiſtance.

The reaſons of his quarrel with the emperor were grounded upon the Imperialiſts concerning themſelves in the war of Poland, where the emperor had ſent eight thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe to join the Poliſh army againſt the king, and had thereby given ſome check to his arms in that war.

In purſuance, therefore, of his reſolution to quarrel with the emperor, but more particularly at the inſtance of the princes above named, his Swediſh majeſty had landed the year before at Straelſund with about twelve thouſand men, and having joined with ſome forces which he had left in Poliſh Pruſſia, all which did not make thirty thouſand men, he began a war with the emperor, the greateſt in event, filled with the moſt famous battles, ſieges, and extraordinary actions, including its wonderful ſucceſs and happy concluſion, of any war ever maintained in the world.

The king of Sweden had already taken Stetin, Straelſund, Roſtock, Wiſmar, and all the ſtrong places on the Baltic, and began to ſpread himſelf in Germany: he had made a league with the French, as I obſerved in my ſtory of Saxony: he had now made a treaty with the duke of Brandenburg; and, in ſhort, began to be terrible to the empire.

In this conjuncture the emperor called the general diet of the empire to be held at Ratiſbon,

where, as he pretended, all ſides were to treat of peace, and to join forces to beat the Swedes out of the empire.

Here the emperor, by a moſt exquiſite management, brought the affairs of the diet to a concluſion exceedingly to his own advantage, and to the farther oppreſſion of the Proteſtants; and, in particular, in that the war againſt the king of Sweden was to be carried on in ſuch manner as that the whole burden and charge would lie on the Proteſtants themſelves, and they be made the inſtruments to oppoſe their beſt friends.

Other matters alſo ended equally to their diſadvantage, as the methods reſolved on to recover the church lands, and to prevent the education of the Proteſtant clergy; and what remained was referred to another general diet to be held at Frankfort au Main in Auguſt, 1631.

I will not pretend to ſay the other Proteſtant princes of Germany had never made any overtures to the king of Sweden to come to their aſſiſtance; but it is plain they had entered into no league with him — that appears from the difficulties which retarded the fixing the treaties afterward, both with the dukes of Brandenburg and Saxony, which unhappily occaſioned the ruin of Magdenburg.

But it is plain the Swede was reſolved on a war with the emperor: his Swediſh majeſty might, and indeed could not but foreſee, that if he once ſhewed

himſelf with a ſufficient force on the frontiers of the empire, all the Proteſtant princes would be obliged, by their intereſt, or by his arms, to fall in with him, and this the conſequence made appear to be a juſt concluſion, for the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony were both forced to join with him.

Firſt, they were willing to join with him — at leaſt they could not find in their hearts to join with the emperor, of whoſe power they had ſuch juſt apprehenſions: they wiſhed the Swedes ſucceſs, and would have been very glad to have had the work done at another man's charge; but, like true Germans, they were more willing to be ſaved than to ſave themſelves, and therefore hung back and ſtood upon terms.

Secondly, they were, at laſt, forced to it: the firſt was forced to join by the king of Sweden himſelf, who, being come ſo far, was not to be dallied with; and had not the duke of Brandenburg complied as he did, he had been ruined by the Swede — the Saxon was driven into the arms of the Swede by force; for count Tilly, general of the Imperial army, ravaging his country, made him comply with any terms to be ſaved from deſtruction.

Thus matters ſtood at the end of the diet at Ratiſbon — the king of Sweden began to ſee himſelf leagued againſt at the diet both by Proteſtants

and Papiſts; and, as I have often heard his majeſty ſay ſince, he had reſolved to try to force them off from the emperor, and to treat them as enemies equally with the reſt, if they did not.

But the Proteſtants convinced him ſoon after, that though they were tricked into the outward appearance of a league againſt him at Ratiſbon, they had no ſuch intentions; and by their ambaſſadors to him let him know, that they only wanted his powerful aſſiſtance to defend their councils, when they would ſoon convince him that they had a due ſenſe of the emperor's deſigns, and would do their utmoſt for their liberty; and theſe I take to be the firſt invitations the king of Sweden had to undertake the Proteſtant cauſe as ſuch, and which entitled him to ſay he fought for the liberty and religion of the German nation.

I have had ſome particular opportunities to hear theſe things from the lips of ſome of the very princes themſelves, and therefore am the forwarder to relate them; and I place them here, becauſe, previous to the part I acted on this bloody ſcene, it is neceſſary to let the reader into ſome part of the ſtory, and to ſhew him in what manner, and on what occaſions, this terrible war began.

The Proteſtants, alarmed at the uſage they had met with at the former diet, had ſecretly propoſed among themſelves to form a general union of con-

federacy for preventing that ruin which they ſaw, unleſs ſome ſpeedy remedies were applied, would be inevitable.

The elector of Saxony, the head of the Proteſtants, a vigorous and politic prince, was the firſt that moved it; and the landgrave of Heſſe, a zealous and gallant prince, being conſulted with, it reſted a great while between thoſe two, no method being found practicable to bring it to paſs, the emperor being ſo powerful in all parts, that they foreſaw the petty princes would not dare to negociate an affair of ſuch a nature, being ſurrounded with the Imperial forces, who, by their two generals, Walleſtein and Tilly, kept them in continual ſubjection and terror.

This dilemma had like to have ſtifled the thoughts of the union, as a thing impracticable, when one Seigenſius, a Lutheran miniſter, a perſon of great abilities, and one whom the elector of Saxony made great uſe of in matters of policy as well as religion, contrived for them this excellent expedient.

I had the honour to be acquainted with this gentleman while I was at Leipſic. It pleaſed him exceedingly to have been the contriver of ſo fine a ſtructure as the concluſions of Leipſic, and he was glad to be entertained on that ſubject — I had the relation from his own mouth, when, but very modeſtly, he told me he thought it was an inſpiration darted on a ſudden into his thoughts when the duke

of Saxony, calling him into his cloſet one morning, with a face full of concern, ſhaking his head, and looking very earneſtly,

" What will become of us, doctor?" ſaid the duke: " we ſhall all be undone at Frankfort au " Main."

" Why ſo, pleaſe your highneſs?" ſays the doctor.

" Why they will fight with the king of Sweden " with our armies and money," ſays the duke, " and devour our friends and ourſelves by the help " of our friends and ourſelves."

" But what is become of the confederacy then," ſaid the doctor, " which your highneſs had ſo hap- " pily framed in your thoughts, and which the " landgrave of Heſſe was ſo pleaſed with?"

" Become of it," ſays the duke: " it is a good " thought enough, but it is impoſſible to bring it " to paſs among ſo many members of the Proteſ- " tant princes as are to be conſulted with; for we " neither have time to treat, nor will half of them " dare to negociate the matter, the Imperialiſts " being quartered in their very bowels."

" But may not ſome expedient be found out," ſays the doctor, " to bring them altogether to treat " of it in a general meeting?"

" It is well propoſed," ſays the duke; " but in " what town or city ſhall they aſſemble where the " very deputies ſhall not be beſieged by Tilly or

" Walleſtein in fourteen days time, and ſacrificed " to the cruelty and fury of the emperor Ferdi- " nand?"

" Will your highneſs be the eaſier in it," replies the doctor, " if a way may be found out to " call ſuch an aſſembly upon other cauſes, at which " the emperor may have no umbrage, and perhaps " give his aſſent? You know the diet at Frank- " fort is at hand: it is neceſſary the Proteſtants " ſhould have an aſſembly of their own, to pre- " pare matters for the general diet, and it may be " no difficult matter to obtain it."

The duke, ſurpriſed with joy at the motion, embraced the doctor with an extraordinary tranſport—" Thou haſt done it, doctor," ſaid he, and immediately cauſed him to draw a form of a letter to the emperor, which he did with the utmoſt dexterity of ſtyle, in which he was a great maſter, repreſenting to his Imperial majeſty, that, in order to put an end to the troubles of Germany, his majeſty would be pleaſed to permit the Proteſtant princes of the empire to hold a diet to themſelves, to conſider of ſuch matters as they were to treat of at the general diet, in order to conform themſelves to the will and pleaſure of his Imperial majeſty, to drive out foreigners, and ſettle a laſting peace in the empire.

He alſo inſinuated ſomething of their reſolutions unanimouſly to give their ſuffrages in favour of the

king of Hungary at the election of a king of the Romans—a thing which he knew the emperor had in his thought, and would push at with all his might at the diet.

This letter was sent, and the bait so neatly concealed, that the electors of Bavaria and Mentz, the king of Hungary, and several of the Popish princes, not foreseeing that the ruin of them all lay in the bottom of it, foolishly advised the emperor to consent to it.

In consenting to this the emperor signed his own destruction; for here began the conjunction of the German Protestants with the Swede, which was the fatalest blow to Ferdinand, and which he could never recover.

Accordingly the diet was held at Leipsic, February 8, 1630, where the Protestants agreed on several heads for their mutual defence, which were the grounds of the following war: these were the famous conclusions of Leipsic which so alarmed the emperor and the whole empire, that, to crush it in the beginning, the emperor commanded count Tilly immediately to fall upon the landgrave of Hesse and the duke of Saxony, as the principal heads of the union — but it was too late.

The conclusions were digested into ten heads.

1. That since their sins had brought God's judgements upon the whole Protestant church, they should command public prayers to be made to Al-

mighty God for the diverting the calamities that attended them.

2. That a treaty of peace might be ſet on foot, in order to come to a right underſtanding with the Catholic princes.

3. That a time for ſuch a treaty being obtained, they ſhould appoint an aſſembly of delegates to meet preparatory to the treaty.

4. That all their complaints ſhould be humbly repreſented to his Imperial majeſty and the Catholic electors, in order to a peaceable accommodation.

5. That they claim the protection of the emperor, according to the laws of the empire, and the preſent emperor's ſolemn oath and promiſe.

6. That they would appoint deputies, who ſhould meet at certain times to conſult of their common intereſt, and who ſhould be always empowered to conclude of what ſhould be thought needful for their ſafety.

7. That they will raiſe a competent force to maintain and defend their liberties, rights, and religion.

8. That it is agreeable to the conſtitution of the empire, concluded in the diet at Auſburg to do ſo.

9. That the arming for their neceſſary defence ſhall by no means hinder their obedience to his Imperial majeſty, but that they will ſtill continue their loyalty to him.

10. They agree to proportion their forces, which, in all, amounted to ſeventy thouſand men.

The emperor, exceedingly ſtartled at the concluſions, iſſued out a ſevere proclamation or ban againſt them, which imported much the ſame thing as a declaration of war, and commanded Tilly to begin, and immediately to fall on the duke of Saxony with all the fury imaginable, as I have already obſerved.

Here began the flame to break out; for, upon the emperor's ban, the Proteſtants ſent away to the king of Sweden for ſuccour.

His Swediſh majeſty had already conquered Mecklenburg and part of Pomerania, and was advancing with his victorious troops, increaſed by the addition of ſome regiments raiſed in thoſe parts, in order to carry on the war againſt the emperor, having deſigned to follow up the Oder into Sileſia, and ſo to puſh the war home to the emperor's hereditary countries of Auſtria and Bohemia, when the firſt meſſengers came to him in this caſe; but this changed his meaſures, and brought him to the frontiers of Brandenburg, reſolved to anſwer the deſires of the Proteſtants.

But here the duke of Brandenburg began to halt, making ſome difficulties, and demanding terms, which drove the king to uſe ſome extremities with him, and ſtopt the Swedes for a while, who had otherwiſe been on the banks of the Elbe

as ſoon as Tilly, the Imperial general, had entered Saxony, which if they had done, the miſerable deſtruction of Magdenburg had been prevented, as I obſerved before.

The king had been invited into the union, and when he firſt came back from the banks of the Oder he had accepted it, and was preparing to back it with all his power.

The duke of Saxony had already a good army, which he had with infinite diligence recruited, and muſtered them under the cannon of Leipſic. The king of Sweden having, by his ambaſſador at Leipſic, entered into the union of the Proteſtants, was advancing victoriouſly to their aid, juſt as count Tilly had entered the duke of Saxony's dominions.

The fame of the Swediſh conqueſts, and of the hero who commanded them, ſhook my reſolution of travelling into Turky, being reſolved to ſee the conjunction of the Proteſtants' armies, and before the fire was broke out too far, to take the advantage of ſeeing both ſides.

While I remained at Vienna, uncertain which way I ſhould proceed, I remember I obſerved they talked of the king of Sweden as a prince of no conſideration; one that they might let go on and tire himſelf in Mecklenburg, and thereabout, till they could find leiſure to deal with him, and then might be cruſhed as they pleaſed: but as it is never

ſafe to deſpiſe an enemy, ſo this was not an enemy to be deſpiſed, as they afterwards found.

As to the concluſions of Leipſic, indeed at firſt they gave the Imperial court ſome uneaſineſs; but when they found the Imperial armies began to fright the members out of the union, and that the ſeveral branches had no conſiderable forces on foot, it was the general diſcourſe at Vienna that the union at Leipſic only gave the emperor an opportunity to cruſh abſolutely the dukes of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the landgrave of Heſſe, and they looked upon it as a thing certain.

I never ſaw any real concern in their faces at Vienna, until news came to court that the king of Sweden had entered into the union; but as this made them very uneaſy, they began to move the powerfulleſt methods poſſible to divert this ſtorm: and upon this news count Tilly was haſtened to fall into Saxony before this union could proceed to a conjunction of forces.

This was certainly a very good reſolution, and no meaſure could have been more exactly concerted, had not the diligence of the Saxons prevented it.

The gathering of this ſtorm, which, from a cloud, began to ſpread over the empire, and from the little duchy of Mecklenburg began to threaten all Germany, abſolutely determined me, as I noted before, as to travelling; and, laying aſide the

thoughts of Hungary, I reſolved, if poſſible, to ſee the king of Sweden's army.

I parted from Vienna the middle of May, and took poſt for Great Glogaw in Sileſia, as if I had purpoſed to paſs into Poland, but deſigning indeed to go down the Oder to Cuſtrin in the marquiſate of Brandenburg, and ſo to Berlin; but when I came to the frontiers of Sileſia, though I had paſſes, I could go no farther, the guards on all the frontiers were ſo ſtrict; ſo I was obliged to come back into Bohemia, and went to Prague.

From hence I found I could eaſily paſs through the Imperial provinces to the Lower Saxony; and accordingly took paſſes for Hamburgh, deſigning, however, to uſe them no farther than I found occaſion.

By virtue of theſe paſſes I got into the Imperial army under count Tilly, then at the ſiege of Magdenburg, May the ſecond.

I confeſs I did not foreſee the fate of this city; neither, I believe, did count Tilly himſelf expect to glut his fury with ſo entire a deſolation; much leſs did the people expect it. I did believe they muſt capitulate; and I perceived, by diſcourſe in the army, that Tilly would give them but very indifferent conditions, but it fell out otherwiſe.

The treaty of ſurrender was, as it were, begun, nay ſome ſay concluded, when ſome of the outguards of the Imperialiſts, finding the citizens had

abandoned the guards of the works, and looked to themſelves with leſs diligence than uſual, they broke in, carried an half moon ſword in hand with little reſiſtance; and though it was a ſurpriſe on both ſides, the citizens neither fearing, nor the army expecting, the occaſion, the garriſon, with as much reſolution as could be expected under ſuch a fright, flew to the walls, twice beat the Imperialiſts off; but freſh men coming up, and the adminiſtrator of Magdenburg himſelf being wounded and taken, the enemy broke in, took the city by ſtorm, and entered with ſuch terrible fury, that, without reſpect to age or condition, they put all the garriſon and inhabitants, man, woman, and child, to the ſword, plundered the city, and, when they had done this, ſet it on fire.

This calamity ſure was the dreadfulleſt ſight that ever I ſaw: the rage of the Imperial ſoldiers was moſt intolerable, and not to be expreſſed. Of twenty-five thouſand, ſome ſaid thirty thouſand, people, there was not a ſoul to be ſeen alive, till the flames drove thoſe that were hid in vaults and ſecret places to ſeek death in the ſtreets, rather than periſh in the fire.

Of theſe miſerable creatures ſome were killed, too, by the furious ſoldiers; but at laſt they ſaved the lives of ſuch as came out of their cellars and holes, and ſo about two thouſand poor deſperate creatures were left. The exact number of thoſe

that periſhed in this city could never be known, becauſe thoſe the ſoldiers had firſt butchered the flames afterwards devoured.

I was on the other ſide the Elbe when this dreadful piece of butchery was done. The city of Magdenburg had a ſconce or fort over againſt it, called the toll-houſe, which joined to the city by a very fine bridge of boats.

This fort was taken by the Imperialiſts a few days before; and having a mind to ſee it, and the rather becauſe from thence I could have a very good view of the city, I was gone over Tilly's bridge of boats to view this fort. About ten o'clock in the morning I perceived they were ſtorming by the firing, and immediately all ran to the works: I little thought of the taking the city, but imagined it might be ſome out-work attacked; for we all expected the city would ſurrender that day or next, and they might have capitulated upon very good terms.

Being upon the works of the fort, on a ſudden I heard the dreadfulleſt cry raiſed in the city that can be imagined — it is not poſſible to expreſs the manner of it—and I could ſee the women and children running about the ſtreets in a moſt lamentable condition.

The city wall did not run along the ſide where the river was with ſo great a heighth but we could plainly ſee the market place, and the ſeveral ſtreets

which run down to the river. In about an hour's time after this firſt cry, all was confuſion — there was little ſhooting—the execution was all cutting of throats and mere houſe murders. The reſolute garriſon, with the brave baron Falconberg, fought it out to the laſt, and were cut in pieces: and by this time the Imperial ſoldiers having broke open the gates and entered on all ſides, the ſlaughter was very dreadful. We could ſee the people in crowds driven down the ſtreets, flying from the fury of the ſoldiers, who followed butchering them as faſt as they could, until, driving them to the river's edge, the deſperate wretches threw themſelves into the river, where thouſands of them periſhed, eſpecially women and children.

Several men that could ſwim got over to our ſide, where the ſoldiers, not heated with fight, gave them quarter, and took them up; and I cannot but do this juſtice to the German officers in the fort, they had five ſmall flat boats, and they gave leave to the ſoldiers to go off in them, and get what booty they could, but charged them not to kill any body, but take them all priſoners.

Nor was their humanity ill rewarded; for the ſoldiers, wiſely avoiding thoſe places where their fellows were employed in butchering, rowed to other places, where crowds of people ſtood crying out for help, and expecting to be every minute either drowned or murdered: of theſe, at ſundry

times, they fetched over near ſix hundred, but took care to take in none but ſuch as offered them good pay.

Never was money or jewels of greater ſervice than now; for thoſe that had any thing of that ſort to offer were ſooneſt helped.

There was a burgher of the town, who, ſeeing a boat coming near him, but out of his call, by the help of a ſpeaking trumpet told the ſoldiers in it he would give them twenty thouſand dollars to fetch him off: they rowed cloſe to the ſhore, and got him, with his wife and ſix children, into the boat; but ſuch throngs of people got about the boat, that they had like to have ſunk it, ſo that the ſoldiers were fain to drive a great many out again by main force; and while they were doing this ſome of the enemy, coming down the ſtreet, deſperately drove them into the water.

The boat, however, brought the burgher and his wife and children ſafe; and though they had not all that wealth about them, yet in jewels and money he gave them ſo much as made all the fellows very rich.

I cannot pretend to deſcribe the cruelty of this day—the town by five in the afternoon was all in a flame—the wealth conſumed was ineſtimable, and a loſs to the very conqueror. I think there was little or nothing left but the great church, and about one hundred houſes.

This was a ſad welcome into the army for me, and gave me a horror and averſion to the emperor's people, as well as to his cauſe. I quitted the camp the third day after this execution, while the fire was ſcarcely out in the city; and from thence, getting ſafe conduct to paſs into the Palatinate, I turned out of the road at a ſmall village on the Elbe, called Emerfield, and by ways I can give but ſmall account of, having a boor for our guide, whom we could ſcarcely underſtand, I arrived at Leipſic on the 17th of May.

We found the elector intenſe upon the ſtrengthening of his army, but the people in the greateſt terror imaginable, every day expecting Tilly with the German army, who, by his cruelty at Magdenburg, was become ſo dreadful to the Proteſtants, that they expected no mercy wherever he came.

The emperor's power was made ſo formidable to all the Proteſtants, particularly ſince the diet at Ratiſbon left them in a worſe caſe than it found them, that they had not only formed the concluſions of Leipſic, which all men looked on as the effect of deſperation rather than any probable means of their deliverance, but had privately implored the protection and aſſiſtance of foreign powers, and particularly the king of Sweden, from whom they had promiſes of a ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance.

And truly, if the Swede had not, with a very

ſtrong hand, reſcued them, all their concluſions at Leipſic had ſerved but to haſten their ruin.

I remember very well, when I was in the Imperial army, they diſcourſed with ſuch contempt of the forces of the Proteſtants, that not only the Imperialiſts, but the Proteſtants themſelves, gave them up as loſt. The emperor had not leſs than two hundred thouſand men, in ſeveral armies, on foot, who moſt of them were on the back of the Proteſtants in every corner.

If Tilly did but write a threatening letter to any city or prince of the union, they preſently ſubmitted, renounced the concluſions of Leipſic, and received Imperial garriſons, as the cities of Ulm and Memmingen, the duchy of Wirtemberg, and ſeveral others.

Only the duke of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe upheld the drooping courage of the Proteſtants, and refuſed all terms of peace — ſlighted all the threatenings of the Imperial generals — and the duke of Brandenburg was brought in afterwards almoſt by force.

The duke of Saxony muſtered his forces under the walls of Leipſic, and I, having returned to the city two days before, ſaw them paſs in review.

The duke, gallantly mounted, rode through the ranks, attended by his field marſhal Arnheim, and ſeemed mighty well pleaſed with them; and indeed the troops made a very fine appearance; but I that

had ſeen Tilly's army, and his old weather-beaten ſoldiers, whoſe diſcipline and exerciſes were ſo exact, and their courage ſo often tried, could not look on the Saxon army without ſome concern for them, when I conſidered who they had to deal with.

Tilly's men were rugged, ſurly fellows; their faces had an air of hardy courage, mangled with wounds and ſcars; their armour ſhewed the bruiſes of muſquet bullets, and the ruſt of the winter ſtorms. I obſerved of them their clothes were always dirty, but their arms were clean and bright: they were uſed to camp in the open fields, and ſleep in the froſts and rain; their horſes were ſtrong and hardy like themſelves, and well taught their exerciſes.

The ſoldiers knew their buſineſs ſo exactly, that general orders were enough: every private man was fit to command, and their wheelings, marchings, counter-marchings, and exerciſes, were done with ſuch order and readineſs, that the diſtinct words of command were hardly of any uſe among them: they were fluſhed with victory, and ſcarce knew what it was to fly.

There had paſſed ſome meſſages between Tilly and the duke, and he gave always ſuch ambiguous anſwers as he thought might ſerve to gain time; but Tilly was not to be put off with words, and drawing his army towards Saxony, ſends four pro-

poſitions to him to ſign, and demands an immediate reply—the propoſitions were poſitive.

1. To cauſe his troops to enter into the emperor's ſervice, and to march in perſon with them againſt the king of Sweden.

2. To give the Imperial army quarters in his country, and ſupply them with neceſſary proviſions.

3. To relinquiſh the union of Leipſic, and diſown the ten concluſions.

4. To make reſtitution of the goods and lands of the church.

The duke being preſſed by Tilly's trumpeter for an immediate anſwer, ſat all night and part of the next day in council with his privy counſellors, debating what reply to give him; which at laſt was concluded, in ſhort, that he would live and die in defence of the Proteſtant religion and the concluſions of Leipſic, and bade Tilly defiance.

The dye being thus caſt, he immediately decamped with his whole army for Torgaw, fearing that Tilly ſhould get there before him, and ſo prevent his conjunction with the Swede. The duke had not yet concluded any poſitive treaty with the king of Sweden, and the duke of Brandenburg having made ſome difficulty of joining, they both ſtood on ſome niceties till they had like to have ruined themſelves.

Brandenburg had given up the town of Spandau

to the king by a former treaty, to ſecure a retreat for his army, and the king was advanced as far as Frankfort upon the Oder, when, on a ſudden, ſome ſmall difficulties ariſing, Brandenburg ſeemed cold in the matter, and with a ſort of indifference demanded to have his town of Spandau reſtored to him again.

Guſtavus Adolphus, who began preſently to imagine the duke had made his peace with the emperor, and ſo would either be his enemy, or pretend a neutrality, generouſly delivered him his town of Spandau; but immediately turned about, and with his whole army beſieged him in his capital city of Berlin.

This brought the duke to know his error; and by the interpoſition of the ladies, the queen of Sweden being the duke's ſiſter, the matter was accommodated, and the duke joined his forces with the king.

But the duke of Saxony had like to have been undone by this delay; for the Imperialiſts, under count de Furſtenburg, were entered his country, and had poſſeſſed themſelves of Hall, and count Tilly was on his march to join him, as he afterwards did, and, ravaging the whole country, laid ſiege to Leipſic. The duke, driven to this extremity, rather flew to the Swede than treated with him, and on the 2d of September the duke's army joined with the king of Sweden.

I had not come to Leipſic but to ſee the duke of Saxony's army, and that being marched, as I have ſaid, for Torgaw, I had no buſineſs there; but if I had, the approach of Tilly and the Imperial army was enough to haſten me away, for I had no occaſion to be beſieged there.

Accordingly, on the 27th of Auguſt, I left the town, as ſeveral of the principal inhabitants had done before, and more would have done it had not the governor publiſhed a proclamation againſt it; and beſides they knew not whither to fly, for all places were alike expoſed — the poor people were under dreadful apprehenſions of a ſiege, and of the mercileſs uſage of the Imperial ſoldiers, the example of Magdenburg being freſh before them, the duke and his army gone from them, and the town, though well furniſhed, but indifferently fortified.

In this condition I left them, buying up ſtores of proviſions, working hard to ſcour their moats, ſet up paliſadoes, repair their fortifications, and preparing all things for a ſiege; and following the Saxon army to Torgaw, I continued in the camp till a few days before they joined the king of Sweden.

I had much ado to perſuade my companion from entering into the ſervice of the duke of Saxony, one of whoſe colonels, with whom we had contracted a particular acquaintance, offering him a

commiſſion to be cornet in one of the old regiments of horſe.

But the difference I had obſerved between this new army and Tilly's old troops had made ſuch an impreſſion on me, that I confeſs I had yet no manner of inclination for the ſervice, and therefore perſuaded him to wait a while till we had ſeen a little farther into affairs, and particularly till we had ſeen the Swediſh army, which we had heard ſo much of.

The difficulties which the elector duke of Saxony made of joining with the king of Sweden were made up by a treaty concluded with the king on the 2d of September, at Coſwig, a ſmall town on the Elbe, whither the king's army was arrived the night before; for general Tilly being now entered into the duke's country, had plundered and ruined all the lower part of it, and was now beſieging the capital city of Leipſic.

Theſe neceſſities made almoſt any conditions eaſy to him; the greateſt difficulty was, that the king of Sweden demanded the abſolute command of the army, which the duke ſubmitted to with leſs good will than he had reaſon to do, the king's experience and conduct conſidered.

I had not patience to attend the concluſions of their particular treaties; but as ſoon as ever the paſſage was clear I quitted the Saxon camp, and

went to ſee the Swediſh army. I fell in with the out-guards of the Swedes at a little town called Beltſig, on the river Werſa, juſt as they were relieving the guards, and going to march, and, having a paſs from the Engliſh ambaſſador, was very well received by the officer who changed the guards, and with him I went back into the army. By nine in the morning the army was in full march, the king himſelf at the head of them, on a gray pad, and, riding from one brigade to another, ordered the march of every line himſelf.

When I ſaw the Swediſh troops, their exact diſcipline, their order, the modeſty and familiarity of their officers, and the regular living of the ſoldiers, their camp ſeemed a well-ordered city: the meaneſt countrywoman with her market ware was as ſafe from violence as in the ſtreets of Vienna.

There were no regiments of lewd women in rags, ſuch as followed the Imperialiſts; nor any women in the camp but ſuch as were known to the provoſts to be the wives of the ſoldiers, who were neceſſary for waſhing linen, taking care of the ſoldiers' clothes, and dreſſing their victuals.

The ſoldiers were well clad, not gay, furniſhed with excellent arms, and exceeding careful of them; and though they did not ſeem ſo terrible as I thought Tilly's men did when I firſt ſaw them, yet the figure they made, together with what we

had heard of them, made them ſeem to me invincible.

The diſcipline and order of their marchings, camping, and exerciſe, was excellent and ſingular, and which was to be ſeen in no armies but the king's, his own ſkill, judgement, and vigilance, having added much to the general conduct of armies then in uſe.

As I met the Swedes on their march, I had no opportunity to acquaint myſelf with any body until after the conjunction of the Saxon army, and then it being but four days to the great battle of Leipſic, our acquaintance was but ſmall, ſaving what fell out accidentally by converſation.

I met with ſeveral gentlemen in the king's army who ſpoke Engliſh extremely well; beſides that, there were three regiments of Scots in the army, the colonels whereof I found were extraordinarily eſteemed by Guſtavus, as the lord Rea, colonel Lumſdell, and Sir John Hepburn: the latter of theſe, after I had, by an accident, become acquainted with, I found had been for many years intimate with my father, and on that account I received a great deal of civility from him, which afterwards grew into a kind of familiar friendſhip: he was a complete ſoldier indeed, and for that reaſon ſo well beloved by that gallant king, who was ever a rewarder of merit.

It was impoſſible for me now to reſtrain my young comrade from entering into the Swediſh ſervice, and indeed every thing was ſo inviting that I could not blame him.

A captain in Sir John Hepburn's regiment had picked acquaintance with him, and he having as much gallantry in his face as real courage in his heart, the captain had perſuaded him to take ſervice, and promiſed to uſe his intereſt to get him a company in the Scotch brigade.

I had made him promiſe me not to part from me in my travels without my conſent, which was the only obſtacle to his deſires of entering into the Swediſh pay; and being one evening in the captain's tent with him, and diſcourſing very freely together, the captain aſked him very ſhort, but friendly, and looking earneſtly at me, "Is this the "gentleman, Mr. Fielding, that has done ſo much "prejudice to the king of Sweden's ſervice?"

I was doubly ſurpriſed at the expreſſion, and at the colonel, Sir John Hepburn, coming at that very moment into the tent. The colonel hearing ſomething of the queſtion, but knowing nothing of the reaſon of it, any more than as I ſeemed a little to concern myſelf at it, yet, after the ceremony due to his character was over, would needs know what I had done to hinder his majeſty's ſervice.

"So much truly," ſays the captain, "that if

" his majeſty knew it, he would think himſelf " very little beholden to him."

" I am ſorry, Sir," ſaid I, " that I ſhould of- " fend in any thing, who am but a ſtranger; but " if you will pleaſe to inform me, I will endeavour " to alter any thing in my behaviour that is preju- " dicial to any one, much more to his majeſty's ſer- " vice."

" I ſhall take you at your word, Sir," ſays the captain: " the king of Sweden, Sir, has a parti- " cular requeſt to you."

" I ſhould be glad to know two things, Sir," I replied: " firſt, how that can be poſſible, ſince I " am not known yet to any man in the army, much " leſs to his majeſty? and, ſecondly, what the re- " queſt can be?"

" Why, Sir, his majeſty requeſts you would not " hinder this gentleman from entering into his ſer- " vice, who, it ſeems, deſires nothing more, if " he may have your conſent to it."

" I have too much honour for his majeſty," returned I, " to deny any thing which he pleaſes to " command me; but methinks it is ſome hard- " ſhip you ſhould make that the king's order " which it is very probable he knows nothing " of."

Here Sir John Hepburn took the caſe up ſome- thing gravely, and, drinking a glaſs of Leipſic beer, ſaid to the captain, " Come, captain, don't preſs

" theſe gentlemen: the king deſires no man's ſer-
" vice but what is purely volunteer."—Upon this we entered into other diſcourſe; and the colonel perceiving by my talk that I had ſeen Tilly's army, was mighty curious in his queſtions, and ſeemed very well ſatisfied with the account I gave him.

The next day, the army having paſſed the Elbe at Wittenburg, and joined the Saxon army near Torgaw, his majeſty cauſed both armies to draw up in battalia, giving every brigade the ſame poſt in the lines as he purpoſed to fight in.

I muſt do the memory of that glorious general this honour, that I never ſaw an army drawn up with ſo much variety, order, and exact regularity ſince, though I have ſeen many armies drawn up by ſome of the greateſt captains of the age—the order by which his men were directed to flank and relieve one another, the methods of receiving one body of men if diſordered into another, and rallying one ſquadron without diſordering another, was ſo admirable; the horſe every where flanked, lined, and defended by the foot, and the foot by the horſe, and both by the cannon, was ſuch, that if thoſe orders were but as punctually obeyed, it were almoſt impoſſible to put an army ſo modelled into any confuſion.

The view being over, and the troops returned to their camps, the captain, with whom we drank the day before, meeting me, told me I muſt come

and ſup with him in his tent, where he would aſk my pardon for the affront he gave me before.

I replied he needed not put himſelf to the trouble, as I was not in the leaſt affronted; that I would do myſelf the honour to wait on him, provided he would give me his word not to ſpeak any more of it as an affront.

We had not been a quarter of an hour in his tent but Sir John Hepburn came in again, and, addreſſing me, ſaid, he was glad to find me there; that he came to the captain's tent to inquire how to ſend to me; and that I muſt do him the honour to go with him to wait on the king, who had a deſire to hear the account I could give him of the Imperial army from my own mouth.

I muſt confeſs I was at ſome loſs in my mind how to make my addreſs to his majeſty; but I had heard ſo much of the converſible temper of the king, and his particular ſweetneſs of humour with the meaneſt ſoldier, that I made no more difficulty, but having paid my reſpects to colonel Hepburn, thanked him for the honour he had done me, and offered to riſe and wait upon him.

"Nay," ſays the colonel, "we will eat firſt, "for I find Gourdon," meaning the captain, "has got ſomething for ſupper, and the king's "order is at ſeven o'clock."—Sir John, becoming very friendly, inquired my name; which when I had told him, and of what place and family, he

roſe from his ſeat, and, embracing me, ſaid, he knew my father, and had been intimately acquainted with him; and told me ſeveral paſſages wherein my father had particularly obliged him.

After this we went to ſupper, and the king's health being drank round, the colonel moved the ſooner, becauſe he had a mind to talk with me. When we were going to the king, he inquired where I had been, and what occaſion brought me to the army.

I told him the ſhort hiſtory of my travels, and that I came hither from Vienna on purpoſe to ſee the king of Sweden and his army. He aſked me if there was any ſervice he could do me, by which he meant, whether I deſired an employment. I pretended not to take it ſo; but told him the protection his acquaintance would afford me was more than I could have aſked, ſince I might thereby have an opportunity to ſatisfy my curioſity, which was the chief end of my coming abroad.

He, perceiving by this that I had no mind to be a ſoldier, told me very kindly I ſhould command him in any thing; that his tent and equipage, horſes, and ſervants, ſhould always have orders to be at my ſervice: but that, as a piece of friendſhip, he would adviſe me to retire to ſome place diſtant from the army, for that the army would march to-morrow, and the king was reſolved to fight general Tilly, and he would not have me

hazard myſelf; that if I thought fit to follow his advice, he would have me take that interval to ſee the court at Berlin, whither he would ſend one of his ſervants to wait on me.

His diſcourſe was too kind not to extort the tendereſt acknowledgement from me that I was capable of. I told him his care of me was ſo obliging, that I knew not what return to make him; but if he pleaſed to leave me to my choice, I deſired no greater favour than to trail a pike under his command in the enſuing battle.

"I can never anſwer it to your father, young "gentleman," he ſaid, "to ſuffer you to expoſe "yourſelf ſo far."

I replied, my father would certainly acknowledge his friendſhip in the propoſal made me; but I believed he knew him better than to think he would be well pleaſed with me if I ſhould accept of it; that I was ſure my father would have rode poſt five hundred miles to have been at ſuch a battle under ſuch a general, and it ſhould never be told him that his ſon had rode fifty miles to be out of it.

He ſeemed to be ſomething concerned at the reſolution I had taken, and replied very quickly upon me, that he approved of my courage: "But," added he, "no man gets any credit by running "upon needleſs adventures, nor loſes any by ſhun-"ning hazards, which he has no order for. It is

" ſufficient for a gentleman to behave well when he " is commanded upon any ſervice: I have had " fighting enough upon theſe points of honour, " and I never got any thing but reproof for it " from the king himſelf."

" However, Sir," I replied, " if a man expects " to riſe by his valour, he muſt ſhew it ſome- " where; and if I were to have any command in " an army, I would firſt try whether I could de- " ſerve it: I have never yet ſeen any ſervice, and " muſt have my induction ſome time or other: I " ſhall never have a better maſter than yourſelf, " nor a better ſchool than ſuch an army."

" Well, but you may have the ſame ſchool, " and the ſame teaching, after this battle is over; " for I tell you beforehand this will be a ſevere " conflict—Tilly has a great army of old lads that " are uſed to boxing — fellows with iron faces — " and it is a little too much to engage ſo hotly the " firſt entrance into the wars.

" You may ſee our diſcipline this winter, and " make your campaign with us next ſummer, when " you need not fear but we ſhall have fighting " enough, and you will be better acquainted with " things: we never put our new men upon pitched " battles the firſt campaign, but place them in gar- " riſons, and try them in parties firſt."

" Sir," ſaid I, with a little more freedom, " I " believe I ſhall not make a trade of the war, and

" therefore need not ſerve an apprenticeſhip to it:
" it is a hard battle where none eſcape. If I come
" off, I hope I ſhall not diſgrace you; and if not,
" it will be ſome ſatisfaction to my father to hear
" his ſon died fighting, under the command of
" Sir John Hepburn, in the army of the king of
" Sweden; and I deſire no better epitaph upon
" my tomb."

" You are right," ſaid Sir John; and by this time we were juſt come to the king's quarters, and the guards calling to us, interrupted his farther reply; ſo we went into the court yard where the king lodged, which was an indifferent houſe of one of the burghers of Debien, and Sir John going up, met the king coming down ſome ſteps into a large room which looked over the town wall into a field where part of the artillery was drawn up. Sir John Hepburn ſent his man preſently to me to come; and Sir John, without any ceremony, conducted me directly to the king, who was then leaning on his elbow in the window: the king turning about, " This is the Engliſh gentleman," ſaid Sir John, " who I told your majeſty had been in the
" Imperial army."

" How then did he get hither," ſaid the king,
" without being taken by the ſcouts?"

" By a paſs, and pleaſe your majeſty, from the
" Engliſh ambaſſador's ſecretary at Vienna," ſaid I, making a profound reverence.

" Have you then been at Vienna?" ſaid the king.

" Yes, and pleaſe your majeſty."—Upon which the king, folding up a letter he had in his hand, ſeemed much more earneſt to talk about Vienna than about Tilly.

" And pray what news had you at Vienna?"

" Nothing, Sir, but daily accounts, one on the " neck of another, of their own misfortunes, and " your majeſty's conqueſts, which make a very " melancholy court there."

" But pray," ſaid the king, " what is the com- " mon opinion there about theſe affairs?"

" The common people are terrified to the laſt " degree, Sir; and when your majeſty took Frank- " fort on the Oder, if your army had marched " but twenty miles into Sileſia, half the people " would have run out of Vienna; and I left them " fortifying the city."

" They need not," replied the king, ſmiling; " I have no deſign to trouble them—it is the Pro- " teſtant countries I muſt be for."—Upon this the duke of Saxony entered the room, and, finding the king engaged, offered to retire; but the king, beckoning with his hand, called to him in French: " Couſin," ſaid the king, " this gentleman has " been travelling, and comes from Vienna;" and ſo made me repeat what I had ſaid before: at which the king went on with me, and Sir John Hepburn

informing his majeſty that I ſpoke High Dutch, he changed his language, and aſked me in Dutch where it was that I ſaw general Tilly's army? I told his majeſty at the ſiege of Magdenburg.

"At Magdenburg!" ſaid the king, ſhaking his head: "Tilly muſt anſwer to me one day for "that city; and if not to me, to a greater king "than I. Can you gueſs what army he had with "him?"

"He had two armies with him," ſaid I; "but "one I ſuppoſe will do your majeſty no harm."

"Two armies!" rejoined the king.

"Yes, Sir; he has one army of about twenty-"ſix thouſand men, and another of above fifteen "thouſand whores and their attendants;" at which the king laughed heartily.

"Ay, ay," ſaid the king; "thoſe women do "us as much harm as the army; for they eat up "the country, and devour the poor Proteſtants "more than the men. And," added the king, "do they talk of fighting us?"

"They talk big enough, Sir; but your ma-"jeſty has not been ſo often fought with as beaten "in their diſcourſe."

"I know not for the men," ſaid the king; "but the old man is as likely to do it as talk of it, "and I hope to try them in a day or two."—The king inquired, after that, ſeveral matters of me about the Low Countries, the prince of Orange,

and of the court and affairs in England; and Sir John Hepburn informing his majeſty that I was the ſon of an Engliſh gentleman of his acquaintance, the king had the goodneſs to aſk him what care he had taken of me againſt the day of battle.

Upon which Sir John repeated to him the diſcourſe we had together by the way: the king ſeeming particularly pleaſed with it, began to take me to taſk himſelf.

"You Engliſh gentlemen," ſaid he, "are too "forward in the wars, which makes you leave "them too ſoon again."

"Your majeſty," replied I, "makes war in ſo "pleaſant a manner, as cauſes all the world to be "fond of fighting under your conduct."

"Not ſo pleaſant neither," ſaid the king: "here's a man can tell you that ſometimes 'tis "not very pleaſant."

"I know not much of the warrior, Sir," I replied, "nor of the world; but if always to con-"quer be the pleaſure of the war, your majeſty's "ſoldiers have all that can be deſired."

"Well," returned the king, "but, however, "conſidering all things, I think you would do "well to take the advice Sir John Hepburn has "given you."

"Your majeſty may command me to any thing; "but where your majeſty and ſo many gallant "gentlemen hazard their lives, mine is not worth

" mentioning: and I ſhould not dare to tell my " father, at my return into England, that I was " in your majeſty's army, and made ſo mean a " figure, that your majeſty would not permit me " to fight under your royal ſtandard."

" Nay," replied the king, " I lay no com- " mands upon you; but you are young."

" I can never die, Sir, with more honour than " in your majeſty's ſervice." — I ſpoke this with ſo much freedom, and his majeſty was ſo pleaſed with it, that he aſked me how I would chuſe to ſerve, on horſeback or on foot?

I replied, " I ſhould be glad to receive any of " your majeſty's commands; but if I have not " that honour, I had purpoſed to trail a pike under " Sir John Hepburn, who has done me ſo much " honour as to introduce me into your majeſty's " preſence."

" Do ſo, then," replied the king, and, turning to Sir John Hepburn, ſaid, " and pray do you " take care of him:" at which, being overcome with the kindneſs of his diſcourſe, I made him a profound reverence, and retired.

The next day but one, being the 7th of September, before day the army marched from Dieben to a large field about a mile from Leipſic, where we found count Tilly's army in full battalia, in admirable order, which made a ſhow both glorious and terrible.

Tilly, like a fair gameſter, had taken up but one ſide of the plain, and left the other free, and all the avenues open for the king's army; nor did he ſtir to the charge till the king's army was completely drawn up, and advanced towards him. He had in his army forty-four thouſand old ſoldiers, every way anſwerable to what I have ſaid of them before; and I ſhall only add, a better army I believe never was ſo ſoundly beaten.

The king was not much inferior in force, being joined with the Saxons, who were reckoned twenty-two thouſand men, and who drew up on the left, making a main battle and two wings, as the king did on the right.

The king placed himſelf at the right wing of his own horſe; Guſtavus Horne had the main battle of the Swedes; the duke of Saxony had the main battle of his own troops, and general Arnheim the right wing of his horſe.

The ſecond line of the Swedes conſiſted of the two Scotch brigades and three Swediſh, with the Finland horſe in the wings.

In the beginning of the fight Tilly's right wing charged with ſuch irreſiſtible fury upon the left of the king's army where the Saxons were poſted, that nothing could withſtand them: the Saxons fled amain, and ſome of them carried the news over the country that all was loſt, and the king's army overthrown; and indeed it paſſed for an

overfight with ſome, that the king did not place ſome of his old troops among the Saxons, who were new-raiſed men. The Saxons loſt here near two thouſand men, and hardly ever ſhewed their faces again all the battle, except ſome few of their horſe.

I was poſted with my comrade, captain Fielding, at the head of three Scotiſh regiments of foot, commanded by Sir John Hepburn, with expreſs directions from the colonel to keep by him.

Our poſt was in the ſecond line, as a reſerve to the king of Sweden's main battle, and which was ſtrange, the main battle, which conſiſted of four great brigades of foot, were never charged during the whole fight, and yet we, who had the reſerve, were obliged to endure the whole weight of the Imperial army.

The occaſion was, the right wing of the Imperialiſts having defeated the Saxons, and being eager in the chace, count Tilly, who was an old ſoldier, and ready to prevent all miſtakes, forbade any purſuit—"Let them go," ſaid he; "but let us beat "the Swedes, or we do nothing."

Upon this the victorious troops fell in upon the flank of the king's army, which, the Saxons being fled, lay open to them; Guſtavus Horne commanded the left wing of the Swedes, and, having firſt defeated ſome regiments which charged him, fell in upon the rear of the Imperial right wing,

and ſeparated them from the van, who were advanced a great way forward in purſuit of the Saxons; and having routed the ſaid rear or reſerve, fell in upon Tilly's main body, and defeated part of them, the other part being then gone in chace of the Saxons, but now returned, fell in upon the rear of the left wing of the Swedes, charging them in the flank, for they drew up upon the very ground which the Saxons had quitted.

This changed the whole front, and made the Swedes face about to the left, and made a great front on their flank to make this good: our brigades, who were placed as a reſerve for the main battle, were, by ſpecial order from the king, wheeled about to the left, and placed for the right of this new front to charge the Imperialiſts: they were about twelve thouſand of their beſt foot, beſides horſe, and, fluſhed with the execution of the Saxons, fell on like furies.

The king by this time had almoſt defeated the Imperialiſts' left wing: their horſe, with more haſte than good ſpeed, had charged faſter than their foot could follow, and having broke into the king's firſt line, he let them go; where, while the ſecond line bore the ſhock, and bravely reſiſted them, the king followed them on the crupper with thirteen troops of horſe and ſome muſqueteers, by which being hemmed in, they were all cut down in a

moment, as it were, and the army never diſordered with them.

This fatal blow to the left wing gave the king more leiſure to defeat the foot which followed, and to ſend ſome aſſiſtance to Guſtavus Horne in his left wing, who had his hands full with the main battle of the Imperialiſts.

But thoſe troops who, as I ſaid, had routed the Saxons being called off from the purſuit, had charged our flank, and were now grown very ſtrong, renewed the battle in a terrible manner.

Here it was I ſaw our men go to rack. Colonel Hall, a brave ſoldier, commanded the rear of the Swedes left wing: he fought like a lion, but was ſlain, and moſt of his regiment cut off, though not unrevenged, for they entirely ruined Furſtenburg's regiment of foot. Colonel Cullembach, with his regiment of horſe, was extremely overlaid alſo, and the colonel and many brave officers killed, and, in ſhort, all that wing was ſhattered, and in an ill condition.

In this juncture came the king, and having ſeen what havock the enemy made of Cullembach's troops, he came riding along the front of our three brigades, and himſelf led us on to the charge. The colonel of his guards, the baron Dyvel, was ſhot dead juſt as the king had given him ſome orders.

When the Scots advanced, ſeconded by ſome

régiments of horſe, which the king alſo ſent to the charge, the bloodieſt fight began that ever man beheld; for the Scotiſh brigades giving fire three ranks at a time, over one another's heads, poured in their ſhot ſo thick, that the enemy were cut down like graſs before a ſcythe; and following into the thickeſt of their foot, with the clubs of their muſquets made a moſt dreadful ſlaughter, and yet there was no flying — Tilly's men might be killed and knocked down, but no man turned his back, nor would give an inch of ground, but as they were wheeled, or marched, or retreated by their officers.

There was a regiment of horſe which ſtood whole to the laſt, and fought like lions: they went ranging over the field when all their army was broken, and nobody cared for charging them: they were commanded by baron Cronenburg, and at laſt went off from the battle whole. Theſe were armed in black armour from head to foot, and they carried off their general.

About ſix o'clock the field was cleared of the enemy, except at one place on the king's ſide, where ſome of them rallied, and, though they knew all was loſt, would take no quarter, but fought it out to the laſt man, being found dead the next day in rank and file, as they were drawn up.

I had the good fortune to receive no hurt in this battle, excepting a ſmall ſcratch on the ſide of my

neck by the puſh of a pike; but my friend received a very dangerous wound when the battle was as good as over.

He had engaged with a German colonel, whoſe name we could never learn; and having killed his man, and preſſed very cloſe upon him ſo that he had ſhot his horſe, the horſe in the fall kept the colonel down, lying on one of his legs; upon which he demanded quarter, which captain Fielding granting, helped him to quit his horſe, and, having diſarmed him, was bringing him into the line, when the regiment of horſe, which I mentioned, commanded by baron Cronenburg, came roving over the field, and with a flying charge ſaluted our front with a ſalvo of carabin ſhot, which wounded us a great many men, and, among the reſt, captain Fielding received a ſhot in his thigh, which laid him on the ground, and, being ſeparated from the line, his priſoner got away with them.

This was the firſt ſervice I was in, and indeed I never ſaw any fight ſince maintained with ſuch gallantry, ſuch deſperate valour, together with ſuch dexterity of management, both ſides being compoſed of ſoldiers fully tried, bred to the wars, expert in every thing, exact in their order, and incapable of fear, which made the battle be much more bloody than uſual.

Sir John Hepburn, at my requeſt, took particular care of my comrade, and ſent his own ſur-

geons to look after him; and afterwards, when the city of Leipſic was retaken, provided him lodgings there, and came very often to ſee him; and indeed I was in great care for him too, the ſurgeons being very doubtful of him a great while: for having lain in the field all night among the ſlain, his wound, for want of dreſſing, and with the extremity of cold, was in a very ill condition, and the pain of it had thrown him into a fever.

It was quite duſk before the fight ended, eſpecially where the laſt-rallied troops fought ſo long, and therefore we durſt not break our order to ſeek out our friends; ſo that it was near ſeven o'clock the next morning before we found captain Fielding, who, though very weak by the loſs of blood, had raiſed himſelf up, and placed his back againſt the buttock of a dead horſe.

I was the firſt that knew him, and, running to him, embraced him with a great deal of joy: he was not able to ſpeak, but made ſigns to let me ſee he knew me; ſo we brought him into the camp, and Sir John Hepburn, as I noted before, ſent his own ſurgeons to look after him.

The darkneſs of the night prevented any purſuit, and was the only refuge the enemy had left; for had there been three hours more daylight, ten thouſand more lives had been loſt, for the Swedes, and Saxons eſpecially, enraged by the obſtinacy of

the enemy, were ſo thoroughly heated, that they would have given quarter but to few.

The retreat was not ſounded until ſeven o'clock, when the king drew up the whole army upon the field of battle, and gave ſtrict command that none ſhould ſtir from their order; ſo the army lay under their arms all night, which was another reaſon why the wounded ſoldiers ſuffered very much by the cold: for the king, who had a bold enemy to deal with, was not ignorant what a ſmall body of deſperate men rallied together might have done in the darkneſs of the night, and therefore he lay in his coach at the head of the line, though it froze very hard.

As ſoon as the day began to peep the trumpets ſounded to horſe, and all the dragoons and light horſe in the army were commanded to the purſuit: the cuiraſſiers and ſome commanded muſqueteers advanced ſome miles to make good their retreat, and all the foot ſtood to their arms for a reſerve.

But in half an hour word was brought to the king that the enemy was quite diſperſed; upon which detachments were made out of every regiment to ſearch among the dead for any of our friends that were wounded; and the king himſelf gave a ſtrict order, that if any were found wounded and alive among the enemy, none ſhould kill them, but take care to bring them into the camp—a piece

of humanity which ſaved the lives of near a thouſand of the enemy.

This piece of ſervice being over, the enemy's camp was ſeized upon, and the ſoldiers were permitted to plunder it: all the cannon, arms, and ammunition, was ſecured for the king's uſe; the reſt was given up to the ſoldiers, who found ſo much plunder, that they had no reaſon to quarrel for ſhares.

For my part, I was ſo buſy with my wounded captain, that I got nothing but a ſword, which I found juſt by him when I firſt ſaw him; but my man brought me a very good horſe with a furniture on him, and one piſtol of extraordinary workmanſhip.

I bade him get upon his back and make the beſt of the day for himſelf, which he did, and I ſaw him no more till three days after, when he found me out at Leipſic, but was ſo richly dreſſed that I hardly knew him; and, after making his excuſe for his long abſence, gave me a very pleaſant account where he had been.

He told me, that, according to my order, being mounted on the horſe he had brought me, he firſt rode into the field among the dead to get ſome clothes ſuitable to the equipage of his horſe; and having ſeized on a laced coat, a helmet, a ſword, and an extraordinary good cane, was reſolved to ſee what was become of the enemy, and following

the track of the dragoons, which he could eaſily do by the bodies on the road, he fell in with a ſmall party of twenty-five dragoons, under no command but a corporal, making to a village where ſome of the enemy's horſe had been quartered. The dragoons, taking him for an officer by his horſe, deſired him to command them: they ſaid the enemy was very rich, and they doubted not a good booty. He was a bold, briſk fellow, and told them with all his heart; but ſaid he had but one piſtol, the other being broke with firing; ſo they lent him a pair, and a ſmall piece they had taken, and he led them on.

There had been a regiment of horſe and ſome troops of Crabats in the village, but they were fled on the firſt notice of the purſuit, excepting three troops, and thoſe, on ſight of this ſmall party, ſuppoſing them to be only the firſt of a greater number, fled in the utmoſt confuſion imaginable: they took the village and about fifty horſes, with all the plunder of the enemy, and with the heat of the ſervice, he ſaid, he had ſpoiled my horſe, for which he had brought me two more; for he, paſſing for the commander of the party, had all the advantage the cuſtom of war gives an officer in like caſes.

I was very well pleaſed with the relation the fellow gave me, and laughing at him, "Well, cap-"tain," ſaid I, "and what plunder have you got?"

" Enough, Sir, to make me a captain, if you " pleaſe, and a troop ready raiſed too; for the " party of dragoons are poſted in the village, by " my command, until they have farther orders."

In ſhort, he pulled out many pieces of gold, alſo watches, and rings, whereof two were diamond rings, one of which was worth fifty dollars; ſilver, as much as his pockets would hold: beſides thoſe, he had brought three horſes, two of which were laden with baggage, and a clown he had hired to ſtay with them at Leipſic till he had found me out.

" I am afraid, captain, you have plundered the " village, inſtead of plundering the enemy."

" No, indeed, not we, Sir; but the Crabats " had done it for us, and we came up to them juſt " as they were carrying it off."

" Well, George, but what will you do with " your men; for when you come to give them " orders, they will know you well enough?"

" No, no, Sir, I took care of that; for juſt " now I gave a ſoldier five dollars to carry them " news that the army was marched to Moerſburg, " and that they ſhould follow thither to the regi- " ment."

Having ſecured his money in my lodgings, he aſked me if I pleaſed to ſee his horſes, and to have one for myſelf?—I told him I would go and ſee them in the afternoon; but the fellow, being im-

patient, went and brought them. There were three horſes, one whereof was a very good one, and, by the furniture, was an officer's horſe of the Crabats, and that my man would have me accept, as he ſaid, for the other he had ſpoiled.

I was but indifferently mounted before, ſo I accepted of the horſe, and went down with him to ſee the reſt of his plunder: he had got three or four pair of piſtols, two or three bundles of officer's linen and lace, a field bed and a tent, with ſeveral other things of value; but at laſt coming to a ſmall parcel, "This," ſays he, "I took from a "Crabat running away with it under his arm;" ſo he brought it up into my chamber. He had not looked into it, he ſaid, but he underſtood it was ſome plunder the ſoldiers had made, and finding it heavy, took it by conſent: we opened it, and found it was a bundle of ſome linen, with ſeveral pieces of plate, and in a ſmall cup three rings, a fine necklace of pearl, and one hundred rix-dollars in money.

The fellow was amazed at his good fortune, and hardly knew what to do with himſelf: I therefore bade him go take care of his other things; ſo he went and diſcharged the clown that waited, and packed up all his plunder, and came up to me in his old clothes again.

"How now, captain," ſays I, "what have "you altered your equipage already?"

" I am no more aſhamed, Sir, of your livery " than of your ſervice, and am nevertheleſs your " ſervant, notwithſtanding what I have got by " it."

" Well, George, but what will you do now " with all your money?"

" I wiſh my poor father had ſome of it, and " for the reſt I got it for you, Sir, and deſire you " will pleaſe to accept of it."

He ſpoke it with ſo much honeſty and freedom, that I could not but take it very kindly; but, however, I told him I would not have a farthing from him, as his maſter, but I would have him play the good huſband with it, now he had ſuch good fortune to get it.

He replied, " Sir, I will follow your directions " in every thing."

" Why then, George, I will tell you what I " would adviſe you to do — turn it all into ready " money, and convey it by return home into Eng- " land, and follow yourſelf the firſt opportunity, " and with good management you may put yourſelf " in a way of living with it."

The fellow, with a ſort of dejection in his looks, aſked me if he had diſobliged me in any thing, that I was ſo willing to turn him out of his ſervice?

" No, George; but you may live on this mo- " ney without being a ſervant."

" I would throw it all into the Elbe, Sir, over " Torgaw bridge, rather than leave your ſervice; " and beſides, Sir, cannot I ſave my money with- " out going from you? I got it in your ſervice, " and I never will ſpend it out of your ſervice, " unleſs you put me away. I hope my money " will not make me the worſe ſervant; if I " thought it would, I would ſoon have little " enough."

" Nay, George, I ſhall not oblige you to it, " for I am not willing to loſe you neither: come, " then, let us put it all together, and ſee what it " will come to."

He then laid it together on the table, and by our computation he had got as much plunder as was worth about fourteen hundred rix-dollars, beſides three horſes with their furniture, a tent, a bed, and ſome wearing linen. Then he took the neck-lace of pearl, a very good watch, a diamond ring, and one hundred pieces of gold, and laid them by themſelves, and having, according to our calcu-lation, valued the things, he put up all the reſt, and, as I was going to aſk him what they were left out for, he took them up in his hand, and, coming round the table, ſaid, that if I did not think him unworthy of my ſervice and favour, he begged I would give him leave to make that preſent to me; that his going out was my firſt thought; that he

had got it all in my ſervice, and he ſhould think I had no kindneſs for him if I ſhould refuſe it.

I was reſolved in my mind not to take it from him, and yet I could find no means to reſiſt his importunity.

At laſt I told him I would accept of part of his preſent, and I eſteemed his reſpect in that as much as the whole, and I would not have him importune me farther; ſo I took the ring and watch, with the horſe and furniture, and made him turn all the reſt into money at Leipſic, not ſuffering him to wear his livery, and taking a young Leipſicker into my ſervice, he attended me as a gentleman from that time forward.

The king's army never entered Leipſic, but proceeded to Moreſburg, and from thence to Hall, and ſo marched on into Franconia, while the duke of Saxony employed his forces in recovering Leipſic, and in driving the Imperialiſts out of his country.

I continued at Leipſic twelve days, not being willing to leave my comrade until he was recovered; but Sir John Hepburn ſo often importuned me to come into the army, and ſent me word that the king had frequently inquired for me, that at laſt I conſented to go without him; and having made our appointment where to meet, and how to correſpond by letters, I went to wait on Sir John

Hepburn, who then lay with the king's army at the city of Erfurt in Saxony.

As I was riding with my two ſervants between Leipſic and Hall, I obſerved my horſe went very aukwardly and uneaſy, and ſweat very much, though the weather was cold, and we had rid very gently: I fancied, therefore, that the ſaddle might hurt the horſe, and, calling to my new captain,

"George," ſaid I, "I believe this ſaddle hurts "the horſe;" ſo we alighted, and, looking under the ſaddle, found the back of the horſe extremely galled: I then bade him take off the ſaddle, which he did, and, giving the horſe to my young Leipſicker to hold, we ſat down to ſee if we could mend it, for there was no town near us.

Said George, pointing with his finger, "If you "pleaſe, Sir, to cut open the pannel there, I will "get ſomething to ſtuff into it which will bear it "from the horſe's back."

While he was looking for ſomething to thruſt in, I cut a hole in the pannel of the ſaddle, and, following it with my finger, I felt ſomething hard—"Here's ſomething, George, that ſhould not be "here;" and I bade him put up his finger.

"Whatever, Sir, it is, 'tis this hurts the horſe, "for it bears juſt on his back when the ſaddle is "ſet on." We then ſtrove to take hold of it, but

could not reach it: at laſt we took the upper part of the ſaddle quite from the pannel, and there lay a ſilk purſe wrapped in a piece of leather.

"Thou art born to be rich, George — here's "more money." We then opened the purſe, and found in it four hundred and thirty-eight pieces of gold.

Here I had a new debate with him whoſe the money ſhould be. I told him it was his; he ſaid it was mine — I had accepted of the horſe and furniture, and all that was about him was mine, and ſolemnly vowed he would not have a penny of it. I ſaw no remedy, but put up the money for the preſent, mended our ſaddle, and went on.

We lay that night at Hall, and having had ſuch a booty in this ſaddle, I made him ſearch the ſaddles of the other two horſes, in one of which he found three French crowns, but nothing in the other.

We arrived at Erfurt the 28th of September; but the army was removed, and entered into Franconia, and at the ſiege of Koningſhoven we came up with them. The firſt thing I did was to pay my compliments to Sir John Hepburn, who received me very kindly, but told me withal, I had not done well to be ſo long from him; that the king had particularly inquired for me — had commanded him to bring me to him at my return. I told him the reaſon of my ſtay at Leipſic, and how

I had left that place and my comrade, before he was cured of his wounds, to wait on him according to his letters.

He acquainted me the king had ſpoken ſome things very obligingly about me, and he believed would offer me ſome command in the army, if I thought well to accept of it. I told him I had promiſed my father not to take ſervice in an army without his leave; and yet, if his majeſty ſhould offer it, I neither knew how to reſiſt it, nor had I an inclination to any thing more than the ſervice and ſuch a leader; though I had much rather have ſerved as a volunteer at my own charge, which he knew was the cuſtom of our Engliſh gentlemen, than in any command.

He replied, "Do as you think fit; but ſome "gentlemen would give twenty thouſand crowns "to ſtand ſo fair for advancement as you do."

The town of Koningſhoven capitulated that day, and Sir John was ordered to treat with the citizens, ſo I had no farther diſcourſe with him then; and the town being taken, the army immediately advanced down the river Main, for the king had his eye upon Frankfort and Mentz, two great cities, both which he ſoon became maſter of, chiefly by the prodigious expedition of his march, for within a month after the battle he was in the lower parts of the empire, and had paſſed from the Elbe to the Rhine, an incredible conqueſt; had taken all the

ſtrong cities, the biſhoprics of Bamberg, of Wurtſburg, and almoſt all the circle of Franconia, with part of Schawberland — a conqueſt large enough to be ſeven years obtaining by the common courſe of arms.

Buſineſs going on thus, the king had not leiſure to think of ſmall matters, and I being not thoroughly reſolved in my mind, did not preſs Sir John to introduce me. I had wrote to my father, with an account of my reception in the army, the civilities of Sir John Hepburn, the particulars of the battle, and had indeed preſſed him to give me leave to ſerve the king of Sweden, to which particular I waited for an anſwer; but the following occaſion determined me before an anſwer could poſſibly reach me.

The king was before the ſtrong caſtle of Marienburg, which commands the city of Wurtſburg: he had taken the city, but the garriſon and richer part of the burghers were retired into the caſtle, and, truſting to the ſtrength of the place, which was thought impregnable, they bade the Swedes do their worſt. It was well provided with all things, and a ſtrong garriſon in it, ſo that the army indeed expected it would be a long piece of work.

The caſtle ſtood on a high rock, and on the ſteep of the rock was a baſtion, which defended the only paſſage up the hill into the caſtle. The Scots were

choſe out to make this attack, and the king was an eye-witneſs of their gallantry. In the action Sir John was not commanded out, but Sir James Ramſey led them on; and I obſerved that moſt of the Scotch officers in the other regiments prepared to ſerve as volunteers for the honour of their countrymen, and Sir John Hepburn led them on.

I was reſolved to ſee this piece of ſervice, and therefore joined myſelf to the volunteers. We were armed with partizans, and each man had two piſtols at his belt—it was a piece of ſervice that ſeemed perfectly deſperate—the enemy's advantage of the hill, the precipice we were to mount, the height of the baſtion, the reſolute courage and number of the garriſon, who, from a complete covert, made a terrible fire upon us, all joined to make the action hopeleſs; but the fury of the Scotch muſqueteers was not to be abated by any difficulties: they mounted the hill, ſcaled the works like madmen, running upon the enemy's pikes, and after two hours deſperate fight, in the midſt of fire and ſmoke, took it by ſtorm, and put all the garriſon to the ſword.

The volunteers did their part, and had their ſhare of the loſs too; for thirteen or fourteen were killed out of thirty-ſeven, beſides the wounded, among whom I received a hurt more troubleſome than dangerous, by a thruſt of a halbert into my

arm, which proved a very painful wound, and it was a great while before I was thoroughly recovered.

The king received us as we drew off at the foot of the hill, calling the ſoldiers his brave Scots, and commending the officers by name. The next morning the caſtle was alſo taken by ſtorm, and the greateſt booty that ever was found in any one conqueſt in the whole war. The ſoldiers got here ſo much money, that they knew not what to do with it; and the plunder they got here and at the battle of Leipſic made them ſo unruly, that, had not the king been the beſt maſter of diſcipline in the world, they had never been kept in any reaſonable bounds.

The king had taken notice of our ſmall party of volunteers, and though I thought he had not ſeen me, yet he ſent the next morning for Sir John Hepburn, and aſked him if I were not come to the army?

"Yes, Sir, he has been here two or three days." And as he was forming an excuſe for not having brought me to wait on his majeſty, ſaid the king, interrupting him, "I wonder you would let him "thruſt himſelf into ſuch a hot piece of ſervice as "ſtorming the Port Graft. Pray let him know I "ſaw him, and have a very good account of his "behaviour."

Sir John returned with this account to me, and

preſſed me to pay my duty to his majeſty the next morning; and accordingly, though I had but an ill night with the pain of my wound, I was with him at the levee in the caſtle.

I cannot but give ſome ſhort account of the glory of that morning. The caſtle had been cleared of the dead bodies of the enemy; and what was not pillaged by the ſoldiers, was placed under a guard.

There was, firſt, a magazine of very good arms for twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe; a very good train of artillery of eighteen pieces of battery, thirty-two braſs field pieces, and four mortars.

The biſhop's treaſure, and other public monies not plundered by the ſoldiers, amounted to four hundred thouſand florins in money; and the burghers of the town, in ſolemn proceſſion, bare-headed, brought the king three tons of gold as a compoſition to exempt the city from plunder.

Here was alſo a ſtable of fine horſes, which the king had the curioſity to go and ſee.

When the ceremony of the burghers was over, the king came down into the caſtle court, walked on the parade (where the great train of artillery was placed on their carriages) and round the walls, and gave orders for repairing the baſtion that was ſtormed by the Scots; and as, at the entrance of the parade, Sir John Hepburn and I made our reverence

to the king, "Ho! Cavalier," ſaid the king to me, "I am glad to ſee you," and ſo paſſed forward. I made my bow very low; but his majeſty ſaid no more at that time.

When the view was over, the king went up into the lodgings, and Sir John and I walked in an antichamber for about a quarter of an hour, when one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber came out to Sir John, and ſaid the king aſked for him. He ſtaid but a little with the king, and came out to me, and told me the king had ordered him to bring me to him.

His majeſty, with a countenance full of honour and goodneſs, interrupted my compliment, and aſked me how I did; at which, anſwering only with a bow, ſaid the king, "I am ſorry to ſee you "are hurt—I would have laid my commands on "you not to have ſhewn yourſelf in ſo ſharp a "piece of ſervice, if I had known you had been "in the camp."

"Your majeſty does me too much honour in "your care of a life that has yet done nothing to "deſerve your favour."

His majeſty was pleaſed to ſay ſomething very kind to me relating to my behaviour in the battle of Leipſic, which I have not the vanity to write; at the concluſion whereof, when I replied, very humbly, that I was not ſenſible that any ſervice I had done, or could do, could poſſibly merit ſo

much goodneſs, he told me he had ordered me a ſmall teſtimony of his eſteem, and gave me his hand to kiſs.

I was now conquered, and with a ſort of ſurpriſe told his majeſty, I found myſelf ſo much engaged by his goodneſs, as well as my own inclination, that if his majeſty would pleaſe to accept of my devoir, I was reſolved to ſerve in his army, or wherever he pleaſed to command me.

"Serve me!" ſaid the king, "why ſo you do; "but I muſt not have you be a muſqueteer — a "poor ſoldier at a dollar a week will do that;" and added, "Pray, Sir John, give him what com- "miſſion he deſires."

"No commiſſion, Sir, would pleaſe me better "than leave to fight near your majeſty's perſon, "and to ſerve you at my own charge, till I am "qualified by more experience to receive your "commands."

"Why, then, it ſhall be ſo; and I charge you, "Hepburn, when any thing offers that is either "fit for him, or he deſires, that you tell me of "it;" and giving me his hand again to kiſs, I withdrew.

I was followed, before I had paſſed the caſtle court, by one of the king's pages, who brought me a warrant directed to Sir John Hepburn, to go to the maſter of the horſe for an immediate delivery of things ordered by the king himſelf for my

account, where being come, the equerry produced me a very good coach, with four horſes, harneſs, and equipage, and two very fine ſaddle horſes, out of the ſtable of the biſhops' horſes aforementioned; with theſe there was a liſt for three ſervants, and a warrant to the ſteward of the king's baggage to defray me, my horſes, and ſervants, at the king's charge, till farther order.

I was very much at a loſs how to manage myſelf in this ſo ſtrange freedom of ſo great a prince; and conſulting with Sir John Hepburn, I was propoſing to him whether it was not proper to go immediately back to pay my duty to his majeſty, and acknowledge his bounty in the beſt terms I could; but while we were reſolving to do ſo, the guards ſtood to their arms, and we ſaw the king go out at the gate in his coach to paſs into the city, ſo we were diverted from it for that time.

I acknowledge the bounty of the king was very ſurpriſing; but I muſt ſay it was not ſo very ſtrange to me when I afterwards ſaw the courſe of his management — bounty in him was his natural talent; but he never diſtributed his favours but where he thought himſelf both loved and faithfully ſerved, and when he was ſo, even the ſingle actions of his private ſoldiers he would take particular notice of himſelf, and publicly own, acknowledge and reward them, of which I am obliged to give ſome inſtances.

A private muſqueteer, at the ſtorming the caſtle of Wurtemberg, when all the detachment was beaten off, ſtood in the face of the enemy, and fired his piece, and though he had a thouſand ſhot made at him, ſtood unconcerned, and charged his piece again, and let fly at the enemy, continuing to do ſo thrice, at the ſame time beckoning with his hand to his fellows to come on again, which they did, animated by his example, and carried the place for the king.

When the town was taken, the king ordered the regiment to be drawn out, and calling for that ſoldier, thanked him before them all for taking the town for him, gave him a thouſand dollars, and a commiſſion with his own hand for a foot company, or leave to go home, which he would. The ſoldier took the commiſſion on his knees, kiſſed it, and put it into his boſom, and told the king he would never leave his ſervice as long as he lived.

This bounty of the king's, timed and ſuited by his judgement, was the reaſon that he was very well ſerved, entirely beloved, and moſt punctually obeyed by his ſoldiers, who were ſure to be cheriſhed and encouraged if they did well, having the king generally an eye-witneſs of their behaviour.

My indiſcretion, rather than valour, had engaged me ſo far at the battle of Leipſic, that, being in the van of Sir John Hepburn's brigade, almoſt three whole companies of us were ſeparated from

our line, and ſurrounded by the enemy's pikes: I cannot but ſay alſo that we were diſengaged rather by a deſperate charge Sir John made with the whole regiment to fetch us off, than by our own valour, though we were not wanting to ourſelves neither; but this part of the action being talked of very much to the advantage of the young Engliſh volunteer, and poſſibly more than I deſerved, was the occaſion of all the diſtinction the king uſed me with ever after.

I had by this time letters from my father, in which, though with ſome reluctance, he left me at liberty to enter into arms if I thought fit, always obliging me to be directed, and, as he ſaid, commanded by Sir John Hepburn: at the ſame time he wrote to Sir John, commending his ſon's fortunes, as he called it, to his care; which letters Sir John ſhewed the king unknown to me.

I took care always to acquaint my father of every circumſtance, and forgot not to mention his majeſty's extraordinary favour, which ſo affected my father, that he obtained a very honourable mention of it in a letter from king Charles I. to the king of Sweden, written by his own hand.

I had waited on his majeſty with Sir John Hepburn to give him thanks for his magnificent preſent, and was received with his uſual goodneſs, and after that I was every day among the gentlemen of his ordinary attendance; and if his majeſty went

out on a party, as he would often do, or to view the country, I always attended him among the volunteers, of whom a great many always followed him, and he would often call me out, talk with me, ſend me upon meſſages to towns, to princes, free cities, &c., upon extraordinary occaſions.

The firſt piece of ſervice he put me upon had like to have embroiled me with one of his favourite colonels. The king was marching through the Bergſtraet, a low country on the edge of the Rhine, and, as all men thought, was going to beſiege Heidelburg; but on a ſudden ordered a party of his guards, with five companies of Scots, to be drawn out. While they were drawing out this detachment the king called me to him, "Ho! Ca-"valier, you ſhall command this party;" and thereupon gave me orders to march back all night, and in the morning, by break of day, to take poſt under the walls of the fort of Oppenheim, and immediately to entrench myſelf as well as I could.

Grave Neels, the colonel of his guards, thought himſelf injured by this command; but the king took the matter upon himſelf, and Grave Neels told me very familiarly afterwards, "We have "ſuch a maſter, that no man can be affronted by: "I thought myſelf wronged, when you com-"manded my men over my head, and for my life "I knew not which way to be angry."

I executed my commiſſion ſo punctually, that by

break of day I was ſet down within muſquet-ſhot of the fort, under covert of a little mount, on which ſtood a windmill, and had indifferently fortified myſelf, and at the ſame time had poſted ſome of my men on two other paſſes, but at farther diſtance from the fort, ſo that the fort was effectually blocked up on the land ſide. In the afternoon the enemy ſallied on my firſt entrenchment; but being covered from their cannon, and defended by a ditch which I had drawn acroſs the road, they were ſo well received by my muſqueteers, that they retired with the loſs of ſix or ſeven men.

The next day Sir John Hepburn was ſent with two brigades of foot to carry on the work, and ſo my commiſſion ended. The king expreſſed himſelf very well pleaſed with what I had done, and, when he was ſo, was never ſparing of telling of it; for he uſed to ſay that public commendations were a great encouragement to valour.

While Sir John Hepburn lay before the fort, and was preparing to ſtorm it, the king's deſign was to get over the Rhine; but the Spaniards which were in Oppenheim had ſunk all the boats they could find: at laſt the king, being informed where ſome lay that were ſunk, cauſed them to be weighed with all the expedition poſſible, and in the night of the 7th of December, in three boats, paſſed over his regiment of guards about three miles above the town, and, as the king thought, ſecure from dan-

ger; but they were no ſooner landed, and not drawn into order, but they were charged by a body of Spaniſh horſe, and had not the darkneſs given them opportunity to draw up in the enclo-ſures, in ſeveral little parties, they had been in great danger of being diſordered; but by this means they lined the hedges and lanes ſo with muſ-queteers, that the remainder had time to draw up in battalia, and ſaluted the horſe with their muſ-quets ſo, that they drew farther off.

The king was very impatient, hearing his men engaged, having no boats nor poſſible means to get over to help them: at laſt, about eleven o'clock at night, the boats came back, and the king thruſt another regiment into them, and, though his offi-cers diſſuaded him, would go over himſelf with them, and did ſo.

This was three months that very day when the battle of Leipſic was fought, and winter time too, that the progreſs of his arms had ſpread from the Elbe, where it parts Saxony and Brandenburg, to the Lower Palatinate and the Rhine.

I went over in the boat with the king—I never ſaw him in ſo much concern in my life, for he was in pain for his men—but before we got on ſhore the Spaniards retired, and the king landed, or-dered his men, and prepared to entrench; for now our boats were put off again, the Spaniards, not knowing more of our troops were landed, and

themſelves being reinforced from Oppenheim, came on, and charged with great fury: all things were now in order, and they were readily received and beaten back. They came on the third time, and with repeated charges attacked us; but at laſt, finding us too ſtrong for them, they ceaſed.

By this time another regiment of foot was come over; and as ſoon as day appeared, the king, with the three regiments, marched towards the town, which ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons, and the next day the fort yielded to Sir John Hepburn.

The caſtle at Oppenheim held out ſtill with a garriſon of eight hundred Spaniards, and the king, leaving two hundred Scots of Sir John Ramſey's men in the town, drew out to attack the caſtle: Sir John Ramſey being left wounded at Wurtzburg, the king gave me the command of thoſe two hundred men, which were a regiment, that is to ſay, all that were left of a gallant regiment of two thouſand Scots which the king brought out of Sweden with him under that brave colonel. There were about thirty officers who, having no ſoldiers, were yet in pay, and ſerved as reformadoes with the regiment, and were over and above the two hundred men.

The king deſired to ſtorm the caſtle on the lower ſide, by the way that leads to Mentz, and Sir John Hepburn landed from the other ſide, and marched up to ſtorm on the Rhine port.

My reformado Scots, having obſerved that the town port of the caſtle was not ſo well guarded as the reſt, all the eyes of the garriſon being bent towards the king and Sir John Hepburn, came running to me, and told me they believed they could enter the caſtle ſword in hand, if I would give them leave.

I told them I durſt not give them orders, my commiſſion being only to keep and defend the town; but they being very importunate, I replied they were volunteers, and might do what they pleaſed; that I would lend them fifty men, and draw up the reſt to ſecond them, or bring them off, as I ſaw occaſion, ſo as I might not hazard the town.

This was as much as they deſired: they ſallied immediately, and in a trice the volunteers ſcaled the port, cut in pieces the guard, and burſt open the gate, at which the fifty entered. Finding the gate won, I advanced immediately with a hundred muſqueteers more, having locked up all the gates of the town but the caſtle port, and leaving ſtill fifty for a reſerve juſt at that gate; the townſmen too, ſeeing the caſtle, as it were, taken, ran to arms, and followed me with above two hundred men. The Spaniards were knocked down by the Scots before they knew what the matter was, and the king and Sir John Hepburn, advancing to ſtorm, were ſurpriſed when, inſtead of reſiſtance,

they ſaw the Spaniards throwing themſelves over the walls to avoid the fury of the Scots. Few of the garriſon got away, but were either killed or taken; and having cleared the caſtle, I ſet open the port on the king's ſide, and ſent his majeſty word the caſtle was his own.

The king came on, and entered on foot: I received him at the head of the Scots reformadoes, who all ſaluted him with their pikes. The king gave them his hat, and turning about, "Brave "Scots, brave Scots," ſaid he, ſmiling, "you "were too quick for me:" then beckoning to me, made me relate in what manner we had managed the ſtorm, which he was exceedingly well pleaſed with, but eſpecially at the caution I had uſed to bring them off if they had miſcarried, and ſecure the town.

From hence the army marched to Mentz, which in four days capitulated, with the fort and citadel, and the city paid his majeſty three hundred thouſand dollars to be exempted from the fury of the ſoldiers. Here the king himſelf drew the plan of thoſe invincible fortifications which to this day makes it one of the ſtrongeſt cities in Germany.

Friburg, Koningſtein, Neuſtadt, Keiſer-Lautern, and almoſt all the Lower Palatinate, ſurrendered at the very terror of the king of Sweden's approach, and never ſuffered the danger of a ſiege.

The king held a moſt magnificent court at Mentz, attended by the landgrave of Heſſe, with an incredible number of princes and lords of the empire, with ambaſſadors and reſidents of foreign princes; and here his majeſty ſtaid till March, when the queen, with a great retinue of Swediſh nobility, came from Erfurt to ſee him. The king, attended by a gallant train of German nobility, went to Frankfort, and from thence on to Hoeſt, to meet the queen, where her majeſty arrived February 8th.

During the king's ſtay in theſe parts his armies were not idle: his troops, on one ſide, under the Rhinegrave, a brave and ever fortunate commander, and under the landgrave of Heſſe on the other, ranged the country from Lorrain to Luxemburg, and paſſed the Moſelle on the weſt, and the Weſer on the north.

Nothing could ſtand before them. The Spaniſh army, which came to the relief of the Catholic electors, was every where defeated, and beaten quite out of the country, and the Lorrain army quite ruined. It was a moſt pleaſant court ſure as ever was ſeen, where every day expreſſes arrived of armies defeated, towns ſurrendered, contributions agreed upon, parties routed, priſoners taken, and princes ſending ambaſſadors to ſue for truces and neutralities, to make ſubmiſſions and compoſitions, and to pay arrears and contributions.

Here arrived, February 10, the king of Bohemia from England, and with him my lord Craven, with a body of Dutch horſe, and a very fine train of Engliſh volunteers, who immediately, without any ſtay, marched on to Hoeſt to wait upon his majeſty of Sweden, who received him with a great deal of civility, and was treated at a noble collation, by the king and queen, at Frankfort.

Never had the unfortunate king ſo fair a proſpect of being reſtored to his inheritance of the Palatinate as at that time, and had king James, his father-in-law, had a ſoul anſwerable to the occaſion, it had been effected before; but it was a ſtrange thing to ſee him equipped from the Engliſh court with one lord and about forty or fifty Engliſh gentlemen in his attendance: whereas had the king of England now, as it is well known he might have done, furniſhed him with ten or twelve thouſand Engliſh foot, nothing could have hindered him taking a full poſſeſſion of his country; and yet even without that help did the king of Sweden clear almoſt his whole country of Imperialiſts, and after his death reinſtal his ſon in the electorate; but no thanks to us.

I will give the character of king James from a maſter's hand.—He was of a middle ſtature, more corpulent through his clothes than his body, yet fat enough, his clothes ever being made large and

eaſy; the doublets quilted for ſtiletto proof; his breeches in great plaits, and full ſtuffed. He naturally was of a timorous diſpoſition, which was the reaſon of his quilted doublets: his eyes were large, ever rolling after any ſtranger who came in his preſence, in ſo much that many for ſhame ſake have left the room, as being out of countenance: his beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him ſpeak full, and drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup at each ſide of his mouth: his ſkin was as ſoft as taffeta ſarſnet, which felt ſo becauſe he never waſhed his hands, only rubbed his fingers ends ſlightly with the wet end of a napkin: his legs were very weak, having had, as was thought, ſome foul play before he was born: he was not able to ſtand at ſeven years of age; his weakneſs made him always leaning on other men's ſhoulders; his walk was ever circular; his fingers were always fiddling about his cod piece. He was temperate in his exerciſes and diet, and not intemperate in his drinking; however, in his old age, in Buckingham's jovial ſuppers, when he had any turn to do in them, he was ſometimes overtaken, which the next day he would repent with tears in his eyes. It is true he drank very often, which was more out of cuſtom than delight, and his drinks were of that kind for ſtrength, as Frontiniac, Canary, tent wine, and Scotch ale, that had he not a very

ſtrong brain he might have been daily overtaken, although he ſeldom drank at any one time more than four ſpoonfuls, often not more than one. He was conſtant in all things, his favourites excepted, in which he loved change, yet never caſt down thoſe who were once raiſed, unleſs from their own default, by oppoſing his change, as in Somerſet's caſe; yet had he not been in that foul poiſoning buſineſs, and ſo caſt down himſelf, I do verily believe not him neither; for all his other favourites he left great in honour, great in fortune, and did much love Montgomery, and truſted him to the very laſt gaſp. In his diet, apparel, and journies, he was very conſtant, as by his good will he would never change his clothes till worn out to very rags. His faſhion never varied, inſomuch that when a perſon brought him a hat made on a Spaniſh block, he would caſt it from him, ſwearing he never loved them nor their faſhions: another time, bringing him roſes on his ſhoes, he aſked them if they would make him a ruff-footed dove—one yard of ſixpenny ribband ſerved his turn. His diet and journies were ſo conſtant, that the beſt obſerving courtiers of our times uſed to remark, that were he aſleep ſeven years, and then awakened, he would tell where the king had been every day, and every diſh he had at his table. He was not very uxorious, though he had a very brave queen that never croſſed his deſigns: her death, which happened ſix years

before his, did not tempt him to any irregularity, though a very beautiful widow, in the plenitude of her health, fortune, and amidſt her admirers, gave him a fair challenge. This extraordinary lady, the relict of the deceaſed favourite of the king, ſwore by the heavens that ſhe would never again marry a ſubject; but the old king was not thus to be caught. The lady kept her oath ſacred. This remarkable woman was the lady Frances, daughter of Thomas lord Howard of Bindon, ſon to Thomas duke of Norfolk: ſhe at firſt, as it were, made a ſtoop from her greatneſs, and married a Mr. Pranell, a vintner, a young man in the city, of great fortune and amiable manners; he living a ſhort time after his marriage, Sir George Rodney, a weſt-country gentleman, paid his addreſſes unto her: ſhe ſeemed to liſten, but ſoon deſerted him, and married Edward earl of Hertford. She and her lord went into Wiltſhire—Sir George followed them, went to an inn in the town where they ſtopped, and ſhutting himſelf up in a room, wrote her a tender copy of verſes in his own blood, and then ran on his ſword and forced it through his body. My lord Hertford dying a ſhort time afterwards, ſhe married for her third huſband Lodovick duke of Richmond and Lenox, couſin to king James: he was maſter of the houſehold and firſt gentleman of the bedchamber to that king: he was a nobleman of very amiable manners: he died ſud-

denly in bed with his ducheſs, leaving her in full bloom; but this gallant dame confeſſed to her confidants that ſhe had great effects from the fulneſs of the duke's veins this unfortunate night. — But to reſume the king. He was unfortunate in the marriage of his daughter, and ſo was all Chriſtendom; but ſure the daughter was more unfortunate in a father than he in a daughter. He naturally loved not the ſight of a ſoldier, nor of any valiant man; and it has been remarked that Sir Robert Manſell was the only brave man he ever loved. He was very witty, and had as many ready witty jeſts as any man living, at which he would not ſmile himſelf, but deliver them in a grave and ſerious manner. He was very liberal of what he had not in his own gripe: his bounty was not diſcommendable, if he had not raiſed ſo many favourites. His rewarding old ſervants, and giving to his own countrymen money, is not to be blamed: but his ſending ambaſſadors was no leſs chargeable than diſhonourable to himſelf and people, for he was ſure to be abuſed in all negociations; but he had rather ſpend a hundred thouſand pounds in embaſſies to procure peace with diſhonour, than ten thouſand pounds to ſend a force to procure peace with honour. He loved good laws, and many were made in his time. He was very crafty and cunning in petty things, inſomuch, as a very wiſe man uſed to ſay, that he believed him to be the

wiſeſt fool in Chriſtendom, meaning him wiſe in ſmall things, but a fool in weighty matters.—But we will take up again our Cavalier where we left him with lord Craven and the glorious king of Sweden.

Lord Craven did me the honour to inquire for me by name, and his majeſty of Sweden did me yet more by preſenting me to the king of Bohemia, and my lord Craven gave me a letter from my father; and ſpeaking ſomething of my father having ſerved under the prince of Orange in the famous battle of Nieuport, the king of Sweden, ſmiling, returned, "And pray tell him from me his ſon has "ſerved as well in the warm battle of Leipſic."

My father being very much pleaſed with the honour I had received from ſo great a king, had ordered me to acquaint his majeſty, that if he pleaſed to accept of their ſervice, he would raiſe him a regiment of Engliſh horſe, at his own charge, to be under my command, and to be ſent over into Holland; and my lord Craven had orders from the king of England to ſignify his conſent to the ſaid levy.

I acquainted my old friend, Sir John Hepburn, with the contents of the letter, in order to have his advice, who, being pleaſed with the propoſal, would have me go to the king immediately with the letter; but preſent ſervice put it off for ſome days.

The taking of Creutznach was the next ſervice of any moment: the king drew out in perſon to the ſiege of this town: the town ſoon came to a parly, but the caſtle ſeemed a work of difficulty, for its ſituation was ſo ſtrong, and ſo ſurrounded with works behind and above one another, that moſt people thought the king would receive a check from it; but it was not eaſy to reſiſt the reſolution of the king of Sweden.

He never battered it but with two ſmall pieces; but having viewed the works himſelf, ordered a mine under the firſt ravelin, which being ſprung with ſucceſs, he commanded a ſtorm. I think there was not more commanded men than volunteers, both Engliſh, Scots, French, and Germans: my old comrade, captain Fielding, was by this time recovered of his wound at Leipſic, and made one.

The firſt body of volunteers of about forty were led on by my lord Craven, and I led the ſecond, among whom were moſt of the reformadoe Scots officers who took the caſtle of Oppenheim; the firſt party was not able to make any thing of it, the garriſon fought with ſo much fury, that many of the volunteer gentlemen being wounded, and ſome killed, the reſt were beaten off with loſs.

The king was in ſome paſſion at his men, and rated them for running away, as he called it,

though they really retreated in good order, and commanded the aſſault to be renewed.

It was our turn to fall on next: our Scots officers, not being uſed to be beaten, advanced immediately, and my lord Craven, with his volunteers, piereed in with us, fighting gallantly in the breach with a pike in his hand; and to give him the honour due to his bravery, he was with the firſt on the top of the rampart, and gave his hand to my comrade and lifted him up after him: we helped one another up, till at laſt almoſt all the volunteers had gained the height of the ravelin, and maintained it with a great deal of reſolution, expecting, when the commanded men had gained the ſame height, to advance upon the enemy, when one of the enemy's captains called to my lord Craven, and told him if they might have honourable terms they would capitulate, which my lord telling him he would engage for, the garriſon fired no more, and the captain leaping down from the next rampart, came with my lord Craven into the camp, where the conditions were agreed on, and the caſtle ſurrendered.

After the taking of this town, the king, hearing of count Tilly's approach, and how he had beaten Guſtavus Horne, the king's field marſhal, out of Bamberg, began to draw his forces together, and, leaving the care of his conqueſts in theſe parts to

his chancellor Oxenſtern, prepared to advance towards Bavaria.

I had taken an opportunity to wait upon his majeſty with Sir John Hepburn; and being about to introduce the diſcourſe of my father's letter, the king told me he had received a compliment on my account in a letter from king Charles.

I then ſaid his majeſty had, by his exceeding generoſity, bound me and all my friends to pay their acknowledgements to him, and that I ſuppoſed my father had obtained ſuch a mention of it from the king of England as gratitude moved him to; that his majeſty's favour had been ſhewn in me to a family both willing and ready to ſerve him; that I had received ſome commands from my father, which, if his majeſty pleaſed to do me the honour to accept of, might put me in a condition to acknowledge his majeſty's goodneſs in a manner more proportioned to the ſenſe I had of his favour; and with that I produced my father's letter, and read that clauſe in it which related to the regiment of horſe, which was as follow:

"MY DEAR SON,

"I HAVE read with the utmoſt ſatisfaction the "account you give of the great and extraordinary "conqueſts of the king of Sweden, and with his "majeſty's ſingular favour to you — I hope you "will be careful to value and deſerve ſo much ho-

" nour—I am pleaſed you rather choſe to ſerve as " a volunteer at your own charge, than to take " any command which, for want of experience, " you might miſbehave in.

" I have obtained of the king that he will par- " ticularly thank his majeſty of Sweden for the " honour he has done you; and if his highneſs " will permit you ſo much freedom, I could be " glad you ſhould, in the humbleſt manner, thank " his majeſty, in the name of an old broken ſol- " dier.

" If you think yourſelf officer enough to com- " mand them, I would have you offer to raiſe his " majeſty a regiment of horſe, which I think I " may near complete in our neighbourhood with " ſome of your old acquaintance, who are very " willing to ſee the world.

" If his majeſty gives you the word, they ſhall " receive his commands in the Maeſe, the king " having promiſed me to give them arms, and " tranſport them for that purpoſe into Holland; " and I hope they may do him ſuch ſervice as may " be for your honour and the advantage of his " majeſty's intereſt and glory.

" YOUR LOVING FATHER."

" 'Tis an offer like a gentleman and like a ſol- " dier," ſaid the king, " and I'll accept of it " upon two conditions: firſt, that I will pay your

" father the advance money for the raiſing the re-
" giment; and next, that they ſhall be landed in
" the Weſer or the Elbe, for which, if the king of
" England will not, I will pay the paſſage; for if
" they land in Holland, it may prove very diffi-
" cult to get them to us when the army ſhall be
" marched out of this part of the country."

I returned this anſwer to my father, and ſent my man George into England to order that regiment, and made him quarter-maſter. I ſent blank commiſſions for the officers, ſigned by the king of Sweden, to be filled up as my father ſhould think fit; and when I had the king's order for the commiſſions, the ſecretary told me I muſt go back to the king with them.

Accordingly I went back to the king, who, opening the packet, laid all the commiſſions but one upon a table before him, and bade me take them, and keeping that one ſtill in his hand, " Now," ſaid he, " you are one of my ſoldiers," and therewith gave me his commiſſion as colonel of horſe in preſent pay.

I took the commiſſion, kneeling, and humbly thanked his majeſty: " But," ſaid the king, " there is one article of war I expect of you more " than of others."

" Your majeſty can expect nothing of me which " I ſhall not willingly comply with as ſoon as I " have the honour to underſtand what it is."

"Why it is, that you ſhall never fight but when "you have orders; for I ſhall not be willing to "loſe my colonel before I have the regiment."

"I ſhall be ready at all times, Sir," returned I, "to obey your majeſty's orders."

I ſent my man expreſs with the king's anſwer and the commiſſion to my father, who had the regiment completed in leſs than two months, and ſix of the officers, with a liſt of the reſt, came away to me, whom I preſented to his majeſty when he lay before Nurenburg, where they kiſſed his hand.

One of the captains offered to bring the whole regiment travelling as private men into the army in ſix weeks time, and either to tranſport their equipage or buy it in Germany; but it was thought impracticable: however, I had ſo many came in that manner, that I had a complete troop always about me, and obtained the king's order to muſter them as a troop.

On the 8th of March the king decamped, and, marching up the river Maine, bent his courſe directly for Bavaria, taking ſeveral ſmall places by the way, and expecting to engage with Tilly, who he thought would diſpute his entrance into Bavaria, kept his army together; but Tilly finding himſelf too weak to encounter him, turned away, and, leaving Bavaria open to the king, marched into the Upper Palatinate.

The king, finding the country clear of the Im-

perialiſts, went to Nurenburg, made his entrance into that city the 21ſt, and being nobly treated by the citizens, he continued his march into Bavaria, and on the 26th ſat down before Donawert: the town was taken the next day by ſtorm, ſo ſwift were the conqueſts of this invincible captain.

Sir John Hepburn, with the Scots and the Engliſh volunteers at the head of them, entered the town firſt, and cut all the garriſon to pieces, except ſuch as eſcaped over the bridge.

I had no ſhare in the buſineſs of Donawert, being now among the horſe, but I was poſted on the roads with five troops of horſe, where we picked up a great many ſtragglers of the garriſon, whom we made priſoners of war.

It is obſervable, that this town of Donawert is a very ſtrong place and well fortified, and yet ſuch expedition did the king make, and ſuch reſolution did he uſe in his firſt attacks, that he carried the town without putting himſelf to the trouble of formal approaches: it was generally his way when he came before any town with a deſign to beſiege it—he never would encamp at a diſtance, and begin his trenches a great way off, but bring his men immediately within half muſquet ſhot of the place; there getting under the beſt cover he could, he would immediately begin his batteries and trenches before their faces, and, if there was any place poſſible to be attacked, he would fall to ſtorming im-

mediately. By this reſolute way of coming on he carried many a town in the firſt heat of his men, which would have held out many days againſt a more regular ſiege.

This march of the king broke all Tilly's meaſures; for now he was obliged to face about, and, leaving the Upper Palatinate, to come to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Bavaria; for the king being twenty thouſand ſtrong, beſides ten thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe and dragoons which joined him from the Duringer Wald, was reſolved to ruin the duke, who lay now open to him, and was the moſt powerful and inveterate enemy of the Proteſtants in the empire.

Tilly was now joined with the duke of Bavaria, and might together make about twenty-two thouſand men, and, in order to keep the Swedes out of the country of Bavaria, had planted themſelves along the banks of the river Lech, which runs on the edge of the duke's territories; and having fortified the other ſide of the river, and planted his cannon for ſeveral miles at all the convenient places on the river, reſolved to diſpute the king's paſſage.

I ſhall be the longer in relating this account of the Lech, being eſteemed in thoſe days as great an action as any battle or ſiege of that age, and particularly famous for the diſaſter of the gallant old general Tilly; and for that I can be more particu-

lar in it than other accounts, having been an eye witneſs to every part of it.

The king being truly informed of the diſpoſition of the Bavarian army, was once of the mind to have left the banks of the Lech, have repaſſed the Danube, and ſo ſetting down before Ingolſtadt, the duke's capital city, by the taking that ſtrong town to have made his entrance into Bavaria, and the conqueſt of ſuch a fortreſs, one entire action; but the ſtrength of the place, and the difficulty of maintaining his leaguer in an enemy's country, while Tilly was ſo ſtrong in the field, diverted him from that deſign: he therefore concluded that Tilly was firſt to be beaten out of the country, and then the ſiege of Ingolſtadt would be the eaſier.

Whereupon the king reſolved to go and view the ſituation of the enemy. His majeſty went out the 2d of April with a ſtrong party of horſe, which I had the honour to command. We marched as near as we could to the banks of the river, not to be too much expoſed to the enemy's cannon, and having gained a little height, where the whole courſe of the river might be ſeen, the king halted and commanded to draw up.

The king alighted, and, calling me to him, examined every reach and turning of the river by his glaſs; but finding the river run a long and almoſt a ſtraight courſe, he could find no place which he liked; but at laſt turning himſelf north,

and looking down the ſtream, he found the river fetching a long reach, doubles ſhort upon itſelf, making a round and very narrow point—" There's " a point will do our buſineſs," ſaid the king; " and if the ground be good I will paſs there, let " Tilly do his worſt."

He immediately ordered a ſmall party of horſe to view the ground, and to bring him word particularly how high the bank was on each ſide and at the point—" And he," ſaid the king, " ſhall have " fifty dollars that will bring me word how deep " the water is."

I aſked his majeſty leave to let me go, which he would by no means allow me; but, as the party was drawing out, a ſerjeant of dragoons told the king, if he pleaſed to let him go diſguiſed as a boor, he would bring him an account of every thing he deſired.

The king approving of the motion, and the fellow being well acquainted with the country, put on a ploughman's habit, and went away with a long pole upon his ſhoulder; the horſe laying all this while in the woods, and the king ſtanding undiſcerned by the enemy on the little hill aforeſaid.

The dragoon with his long pole went down boldly to the bank of the river, and calling to the centinels which Tilly had placed on the other bank, talked with them, aſked them if they could help him over the river, and pretended he wanted to

get to them: at laſt, being come to the point, where, as I ſaid, the river made a ſhort turn, he ſtood parlying with them; at length, pretending to wade over, he put his long pole into the water, till, being gotten up to his middle, he could reach beyond him, where it was too deep, and, ſhaking his head, came back again.

The ſoldiers on the other ſide, laughing at him, aſked him if he could ſwim? He ſaid, "No, I "cannot."

"Why, you fool," ſaid one of the centinels, "the channel of the river is twenty feet deep."

"How do you know that?" ſaid the dragoon. —"Why our engineer," anſwered he, "mea- "ſured it yeſterday."

This was what he wanted; but not yet fully ſatisfied—"Ay, but," ſaid he, "if one of you will "wade in to meet me, till I can reach you with "my pole, I will give him half a ducat to pull "me over."

The innocent way of his diſcourſe ſo deluded the ſoldiers, that one of them immediately ſtripped and went in, and our dragoon got in on this ſide to meet him: the ſtream took the other ſoldier away, but he, being a good ſwimmer, came over to this ſide.

The dragoon was then in pain for fear of being diſcovered; but at laſt reſolved to carry on the humour; and having entertained the fellow with a

tale about the Swedes ſtealing his oats, the fellow, being cold, wanted to be gone, and the dragoon, as willing to be rid of him, pretended to be very ſorry he could not get over the river, and ſo they parted.

By this, however, he learned both the depth and breadth of the channel, the bottom and nature of both ſhores, and every thing the king wanted to know. We could ſee him from the hill by our glaſſes very plain, and could ſee the ſoldier naked with him.

Said the king, he will certainly be diſcovered and knocked on the head from the other ſide: he is a fool he does not kill the fellow and run off; but when the dragoon told his tale the king was extremely well ſatisfied with him, ordered him a hundred dollars, and made him a quarter maſter to a troop of horſe.

The king having farther examined the dragoon, he gave him a very diſtinct account of the ſhore and the ground on this ſide, which he found to be higher than the enemy's by ten or twelve feet, and a hard gravel.

Hereupon the king reſolved to paſs there; and, in order to it, gave, himſelf, particular directions for ſuch a bridge as I believe never army paſſed a river on before nor ſince.

His bridge was only looſe planks laid upon large treſſels, in the ſame homely manner as I have ſeen

bricklayers raiſe a low ſcaffold to build a brick wall. The treſſels were made higher than one another to anſwer to the river as it became deeper or ſhallower, and were all framed and fitted before any appearance was made of attempting to paſs.

When all was ready, the king brought his army down to the bank of the river, and planted his cannon as the enemy had done, ſome here and ſome there, to amuſe them.

At night, April 4th, the king commanded two thouſand men to march to the point, and to throw up a trench on either ſide, and quite round it, with a battery of ſix pieces of cannon at each end, beſides three ſmall mounts, one at the point, and one on each ſide, which had each of them two pieces upon them. This work was begun ſo briſkly, and ſo well carried on, the king firing all the night from the other parts of the river, that by daylight all the batteries at the new work were mounted, the trench lined with two thouſand muſqueteers, and all the utenſils of the bridge lay ready to be put together.

Now the Imperialiſts diſcovered the deſign, but it was too late to hinder it; the muſqueteers in the great trench and the five new batteries made ſuch continual fire, that the other bank, which, as before, lay twelve feet below them, was too hot for the Imperialiſts; whereupon Tilly, to be provided for the king at his coming over, fell to work in a

wood right againſt the point, and raiſed a great battery for twenty pieces of cannon, with a breaſt-work, or line, as near the river as he could to cover his men, thinking that when the king had built his bridge he might eaſily beat it down with his cannon.

But the king had doubly prevented him, firſt, by laying his bridge ſo low that none of Tilly's ſhot could hurt it, for the bridge laid not half a foot above the water's edge; by which means the king, who in that ſhewed himſelf an excellent engineer, had ſecured it from any batteries to be made within the land, and the angle of the bank ſecured it from the remoter batteries on the other ſide, and the continual fire of the cannon and ſmall ſhot beat the Imperialiſts from their ſtation juſt againſt it, they having no works to cover them.

In the ſecond place, to ſecure his paſſage he ſent over two hundred men, and after that two hundred more, who had orders to caſt up a large ravelin on the other bank juſt where he deſigned to land his bridge. This was done with ſuch expedition, that it was finiſhed before night, and in a condition to receive all the ſhot of Tilly's great battery, and effectually covered the bridge.

While this was doing, the king, on his ſide, laid over his bridge. Both parties wrought hard all day and all night, as if the ſpade, not the ſword, had been to decide the controverſy, and that he

would get the victory whoſe trenches and batteries were firſt ready; in the mean while the cannon and muſquet bullets flew like hail, and made the ſervice ſo hot, that both ſides had enough to do to make their men ſtand to their work. The king, in the hotteſt of it, animated his men by his preſence, and Tilly, to give him his due, did the ſame; for the execution was ſo great, and ſo many officers killed, general Attringer wounded, and two ſerjeant majors killed, that at laſt Tilly himſelf was obliged to come up to the very face of our line to encourage his men, and give his neceſſary orders.

At one o'clock, much about the time that the king's bridge and works were finiſhed, and juſt as, they ſaid, he had ordered to fall on upon our ravelin with three thouſand foot, was the brave old Tilly wounded with a muſquet bullet in the thigh: he was carried to Ingolſtadt, and lived ſome days after, but died of that wound the ſame day as the king had his horſe ſhot under him at the ſiege of that town.

We made no queſtion of paſſing the river here, having brought every thing ſo forward, and with ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs; but we ſhould have found it a very hot piece of work if Tilly had eſcaped the misfortune one day longer: and if I may give my opinion of it, having ſeen Tilly's battery and breaſtwork, in the face of which we muſt have paſſed the river, I muſt ſay, that when-

ever we had marched, if Tilly had fallen in with his horſe and foot, placed in that trench, the whole army would have encountered as much danger as in the face of a ſtrong town in the ſtorming a counterſcarp.

The king, when he ſaw with what judgement Tilly had prepared his works, and what danger he himſelf muſt have run, ſaid, that day's ſucceſs was every way equal to the victory of Leipſic.

Tilly being wounded, as if the ſoul of the army had been loſt, they began to draw off. The duke of Bavaria took horſe and rode away, as if he had fled out of battle for his life.

The other generals, with a little more caution as well as courage, drew off by degrees, ſending their cannon and baggage away firſt, and leaving ſome to continue firing on the bank of the river to conceal their retreat. The river preventing any intelligence, we knew nothing of the diſaſter which had befallen them; and the king, who looked for blows, having finiſhed his bridge and ravelin, ordered to run a line with paliſadoes to take in more ground on the bank of the river to cover the firſt troops he ſhould ſend over. This being finiſhed the ſame night, the king ſent over a party of his guards to relieve the men who were in the ravelin, and commanded ſix hundred muſqueteers to man the new line out of the Scots brigade.

Early in the morning a ſmall party of Scots,

commanded by a captain Forbes, of my lord Rea's regiment, were ſent out to learn ſomething of the enemy, the king obſerving they had not fired all night; and while this party were abroad, the army ſtood in battalia; and my old friend Sir John Hepburn, whom, of all men, the king moſt depended upon for any deſperate ſervice, was ordered to paſs the bridge with his brigade, and to draw up without the line, with command to advance as he found the horſe who were to ſecond him come over.

Sir John, being paſſed without the trench, met captain Forbes with ſome priſoners, and the good news of the enemy's retreat: he ſent him directly to the king, who was by this time at the head of his army, in full battalia, ready to follow his vanguard, expecting a hot day's work of it.

Sir John ſent meſſenger after meſſenger to the king, entreating him to give him orders to advance, but the king would not ſuffer him, for he was ever upon his guard, and would not venture a ſurpriſe; ſo the army continued on this ſide the Lech all day and the next night.

In the morning the king ſent for me, and ordered me to draw out three hundred horſe, and a colonel with ſix hundred horſe, and a colonel with eight hundred dragoons, and ordered us to enter the wood by three ways, but ſo as to be able to relieve one another; and then ordered Sir John Hepburn with his brigade to advance to the edge of

the wood to ſecure our retreat; and at the ſame time commanded another brigade of foot to paſs the bridge to ſecond Sir John; ſo warily did this prudent general proceed.

We advanced with our horſe into the Bavarian camp, which we found forſaken. The plunder of it was inconſiderable; for the exceeding caution the king had uſed gave them time to carry off all their baggage. We followed them three or four miles, and returned to our camp.

I confeſs I was moſt diverted that day with viewing the works which Tilly had caſt up, and muſt own again, that had he not been taken off, we had met with as deſperate a piece of work as ever was attempted. The next day the reſt of the cavalry came up to us, commanded by Guſtavus Horne, and the king and the whole army followed: we advanced through the heart of Bavaria, took Rain at the firſt ſummons, and ſeveral other ſmall towns, and ſat down before Augſburgh.

Augſburgh, though a Proteſtant city, had a Popiſh Bavarian garriſon in it of above five thouſand men, commanded by a Fugger, a great family in Bavaria. The governor had poſted ſeveral little parties as outſcouts at the diſtance of two or three miles from the town.

The king, at his coming up to this town, ſent me with my little troop and three companies of dragoons to beat in thoſe outſcouts: the firſt party

I diſcovered was not above ſixteen men, who had made a ſmall barricado acroſs the road, and ſtood reſolutely upon their guard. I commanded the dragoons to alight, and open the barricado, which, while they reſolutely performed, the ſixteen men gave them two vollies of their muſquets, and through the encloſures made their retreat to a turnpike about a quarter of a mile farther.

We paſt their firſt traverſe, and coming up to the turnpike, I found it defended by two hundred muſqueteers: I prepared to attack them, ſending word to the king of the ſtrength of the enemy, and deſired ſome foot to be ſent me.

My dragoons fell on, and, though the enemy made a very hot fire, had beat them from this poſt before two hundred foot, which the king had ſent me, had come up. Being joined with the foot, I followed the enemy, who retreated, fighting, till they came under the cannon of a ſtrong redoubt, where they drew up; and I could ſee another body of foot, of about three hundred, join them out of the works.

Upon this I halted, and conſidering I was in view of the town, and a great way from the army, I faced about, and began to march off. As we marched I found the enemy followed, but kept at a diſtance, as if they only deſigned to obſerve us. We had not marched far before I heard a volley of

ſmall ſhot, anſwered by two or three more, which I preſently apprehended to be at the turnpike, where I had left a ſmall guard of twenty-ſix men with a lieutenant.

Immediately I detached one hundred dragoons to relieve my men, and ſecure my retreat, following myſelf as faſt as the foot could march.

The lieutenant ſent me back word the poſt was taken by the enemy, and my men cut off. Upon this I doubled my pace, and when I came up I found it as the lieutenant had ſaid; for the poſt was taken, and manned with three hundred muſqueteers and three troops of horſe. By this time I found the party in my rear made up towards me; ſo that I was like to be charged, in a narrow place, both in front and rear.

I ſaw there was no remedy, but with all my force to fall upon that party before me, and ſo to break through before thoſe from the town could come up with me: therefore, commanding my dragoons to alight, I ordered them to fall on upon the foot. Their horſe were drawn up in an encloſed field on one ſide of the road, a great ditch ſecuring the other ſide; ſo that they thought if I charged the foot in front, they would fall upon my flank, while thoſe behind would charge my rear; and, indeed, had the other come in time, they had cut me off. My dragoons made three fair charges

on their foot; but were received with ſo much reſolution, and ſo briſk a fire, that they were beaten off, and ſixteen men killed.

Seeing them ſo rudely handled, and the horſe ready to fall in, I relieved them with one hundred muſqueteers, and they renewed the attack; at the ſame time with my troop of horſe, flanked on both wings with fifty muſqueteers, I faced their horſe, but did not offer to charge them. The caſe grew now deſperate, and the enemy behind were juſt at my heels with near ſix hundred men. The captain who commanded the muſqueteers, who flanked my horſe, came up to me, and ſaid, "If we do not "force this paſs, all will be loſt: if you will draw "out your troop and twenty of my foot, and fall "in, I will engage to keep off the horſe with the "reſt."—"With all my heart," ſaid I.

Immediately I wheeled off my troop, and a ſmall party of the muſqueteers followed me, and fell in with the dragoons and foot, who, ſeeing the danger too as well as I, fought like mad men. The foot at the turnpike were not able to hinder our breaking through; ſo we made our way out, killing about one hundred and fifty of them, and put the reſt into confuſion.

But now was I in as great a difficulty as before how to fetch off my brave captain of foot, for they charged home upon him: he defended himſelf with extraordinary gallantry, having the benefit of

a piece of a hedge to cover him; but he loſt half his men, and was juſt upon the point of being defeated, when the king, informed by a ſoldier that eſcaped from the turnpike, one of twenty-ſix, had ſent a party of ſix hundred dragoons to bring me off: theſe came upon the ſpur, and joined with me juſt as I had broke through the turnpike. The enemy's foot rallied behind their horſe, and by this time their other party was come in; but, ſeeing our relief, they drew off together.

I loſt above one hundred men in theſe ſkirmiſhes, and killed of the enemy about one hundred and eighty. We ſecured the turnpike, and placed a company of foot there with one hundred dragoons, and came back well beaten to the army. The king, to prevent ſuch uncertain ſkirmiſhes, advanced the next day in view of the town, and, according to his cuſtom, ſat down with his army within cannon ſhot of their walls.

The king won this great city by force of words, for by two or three meſſages and letters to and from the citizens the town was gained, the garriſon not daring to defend them againſt their wills. His majeſty made his public entrance into the city on the 14th of April, and, receiving the compliments of the citizens, advanced immediately to Ingolſtadt, which is accounted, and really is, the ſtrongeſt town in all thoſe parts.

The town had a very ſtrong garriſon in it, and

the duke of Bavaria lay entrenched with his army under the walls of it, on the other ſide of the river. The king, who never loved long ſieges, having viewed the town, and brought his army within muſquet ſhot of it, called a council of war, where it was the king's opinion that the town would coſt him more than it was worth, and therefore he reſolved to raiſe the ſiege.

Here the king, going to view the town, had his horſe ſhot with a cannon bullet from the works, which tumbled the king and his horſe over each other, that every body thought the king had been killed, but he happily received no hurt: that very minute, as near as could be learned, general Tilly died of the ſhot he received on the bank of the Lech.

I was not in the camp when the king had this accident; for he had ſent almoſt all the horſe and dragoons, under Guſtavus Horne, to face the duke of Bavaria's camp, and after that to plunder the country, which truly was a work the ſoldiers were glad of, for it was very ſeldom they had that liberty given them, and they made very good uſe of it when it was, for the country of Bavaria was rich and plentiful, having ſeen no enemy before during the whole war.

The army, having left the ſiege of Ingolſtadt, proceeded to take in the reſt of Bavaria. Sir John Hepburn, with three brigades of foot, and Guſ-

tavus Horne, with three thouſand horſe and dragoons, went to Landſhut, and took it the ſame day. The garriſon was all horſe, and gave us ſeveral camiſadoes at our approach, in one of which I loſt two of my troops; but when we had beat them into cloſe quarters they preſently capitulated.

The general got a large ſum of money of the town, beſides a great many preſents to the officers; and from thence the king went on to Munich, the duke of Bavaria's court. Some of the general officers would fain have had the plundering of the duke's palace; but the king was too generous—the city paid him four hundred thouſand dollars, and the duke's magazine was then ſeized, in which were one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and ſmall arms for above twenty thouſand men.

The great chamber of the duke's rarities was preſerved, by the king's ſpecial order, with a great deal of care. I expected to have ſtaid here ſome time, to have taken an exact account of this curious laboratory; but being commanded away, I had no time, and the fate of the war never gave me an opportunity to ſee it again.

The Imperialiſts, under the command of commiſſary Oſta, had beſieged Bibrach, an Imperial city not very well fortified; and the inhabitants, being under the Swede's protection, defended themſelves as well as they could, but were in great danger, and ſent ſeveral expreſſes to the king for help.

The king immediately detached a ſtrong body of horſe and foot to relieve Bibrach, and would be the commander himſelf — I marched among the horſe — but the Imperialiſts ſaved us the labour; for the news of the king coming frightened away Oſta, that he left Bibrach, and hardly looked behind him till he got up to the Bodenſee, on the confines of Switzerland.

At our return from this expedition the king had the firſt news of Walleſtein's approach, who, on the death of count Tilly, being declared generaliſſimo of the emperor's forces, had been a tyrant in Bohemia, and was now advancing with ſixty thouſand men to relieve the duke of Bavaria.

The king, therefore, in order to be in a ſituation to receive this great general, reſolved to quit Bavaria, and to expect him on the frontiers of Franconia; and becauſe he knew the Nurenburghers, for their kindneſs to him, would be their firſt ſacrifice, he reſolved to defend that city againſt him, whatever it coſt.

Nevertheleſs he did not leave Bavaria without a defence; but, on the one hand, he left Sir John Bannier with ten thouſand men about Augſburgh, and the duke of Saxe-Weimar with another like army about Ulme and Memmingen, with orders ſo to direct their march as that they might join him upon any occaſion in a few days.

We encamped about Nurenburgh the middle of

June. The army, after ſo many detachments, was not above nineteen thouſand men. The Imperial army, joined with the Bavarian, were not ſo numerous as was reported, but was really near ſixty thouſand men.

The king, not ſtrong enough to fight yet, (as he uſed to ſay), was ſtrong enough not to be forced to fight, formed his camp ſo under the cannon of Nurenburg, that there was no beſieging the town, but they muſt beſiege him too; and he fortified his camp in ſo formidable a manner, that Walleſtein never dared to attack him.

On the 30th of June Walleſtein's troops appeared, and on the 5th of July encamped cloſe by the king, and poſted themſelves not only on the Bavarian ſide, but between the king and his own friends of Schwaben and Frankendal, in order to intercept his proviſions, and, as they thought, to ſtarve him out of his camp.

Here they lay to ſee, as it were, who could ſubſiſt longeſt. The king was ſtrong in horſe, for we had full eight thouſand horſe and dragoons in the army, and this gave us great advantage in the ſeveral ſkirmiſhes we had with the enemy.

The enemy had poſſeſſion of the whole country, and had taken effectual care to furniſh their army with proviſions: they placed their guards in ſuch excellent order to ſecure their convoys, that their waggons went from ſtage to ſtage as quiet as in a

time of peace, and were relieved every five miles by parties conſtantly poſted on the road.

And thus the Imperial general ſat down by us, not doubting but he ſhould force the king either to fight his way through on very diſadvantageous terms, or to riſe for want of proviſions, and leave the city of Nurenburgh a prey to his army; for he had vowed the deſtruction of the city, and to make it a ſecond Magdeburg.

But the king, who was not to be eaſily deceived, had countermined all Walleſtein's deſigns: he had paſſed his honour to the Nurenburghers that he would not leave them, and they had undertaken to victual his army, and ſecure him from want, which they did ſo effectually, that he had no occaſion to expoſe his troops to any hazard or fatigues for convoys or forage on any account whatever.

The city of Nurenburgh is a very rich and populous city; and the king, being very ſenſible of their danger, had given his word for their defence: and when they, being terrified at the threats of the Imperialiſts, ſent their deputies to beſeech the king to take care of them, he ſent them word he would, and be beſieged with them.

They, on the other hand, laid in ſuch ſtores of all ſorts of proviſion, both for men and horſe, that had Walleſtein lain before it ſix months longer, there would have been no ſcarcity. Every private houſe was a magazine: the camp was plentifully

ſupplied with all manner of proviſions, and the market always full, and as cheap as in times of peace.

The magiſtrates were ſo careful, and preſerved ſo excellent an order in the diſpoſal of all ſorts of proviſion, that no engroſſing of corn could be practiſed, for the prices were every day directed at the town houſe; and if any man offered to demand more money for corn than the ſtated price, he could not ſell, becauſe at the town ſtorehouſe you might buy cheaper.

Here are two inſtances of good and bad conduct:—The city of Magdeburg had been entreated by the king to ſettle funds, and raiſe money for their proviſion and ſecurity, and to have a ſufficient garriſon to defend them; but they made difficulties either to raiſe men for themſelves, or to admit the king's troops to aſſiſt them, for fear of the charge of maintaining them; and this was the cauſe of the city's ruin.

The city of Nurenburgh opened their arms to receive the aſſiſtance proffered by the Swedes, and their purſes to defend their town and common cauſe; and this was the ſaving them abſolutely from deſtruction. The rich burghers and magiſtrates kept open houſes, where the officers of the army were always welcome; and the council of the city took ſuch care of the poor, that there was no complaining nor diſorders in the whole city.

There is no doubt but it coſt the city a great deal of money; but I never ſaw a public charge borne with ſo much cheerfulneſs, nor managed with ſo much prudence and conduct, in my life. The city fed about fifty thouſand every day, including their own poor, beſides themſelves; and yet, when the king had lain thus three months, and finding his armies longer in coming up than he expected, aſked the burgrave how their magazines held out?

He anſwered, they deſired his majeſty not to haſten things for them, for they could maintain themſelves and him twelve months longer, if there was occaſion.

This plenty kept both the army and city in good health, as well as in good heart; whereas nothing was to be had of us but blows; for we fetched nothing from without our works, nor had any buſineſs without the line, but to interrupt the enemy.

The manner of the king's encampment deſerves a particular attention. He was a complete ſurveyor, and a maſter in fortification, not to be outdone by any body. He had poſted his army in the ſuburbs of the town, and drawn lines round the whole circumference, that he begirt the city with his army: his works were large, the ditch deep, flanked with innumerable baſtions, ravelins, hornworks, forts, redoubts, batteries, and palliſadoes,

the inceſſant work of eight thouſand men for about fourteen days.

Beſides that, the king was adding ſomething or other to it every day; and the very poſture of his camp was enough to tell a larger army than Walleſtein's that he was not to be aſſaulted in his trenches.

The king's deſign appeared chiefly to be the preſervation of the city; but that was not all — he had three armies acting abroad in three ſeveral places: Guſtavus Horne was on the Moſel; the chancellor Oxenſtern about Mentz, Cologne, and the Rhine; duke William and duke Bernard, together with general Bannier, in Bavaria: and though he deſigned they ſhould all join him, and had wrote to them to that purpoſe, yet he did not haſten them, knowing that while he kept the main army at bay about Nurenburgh they would, without oppoſition, reduce thoſe ſeveral countries they were acting in to his power.

This occaſioned his laying longer in the camp at Nurenburgh than he would have done, and this occaſioned his giving the Imperialiſts ſo many alarms by his ſtrong parties of horſe, of which he was well provided, that they might not be able to make any conſiderable detachments for the relief of their friends; and here he ſhewed his maſterſhip in the war; for by his means his conqueſts went on as effectually as if he had been abroad himſelf.

In the mean time, it was not to be expected two ſuch armies ſhould lie long ſo near without ſome action. The Imperial army, being maſters of the field, laid the country for about twenty miles round Nurenburgh, in a manner, deſolate: what the inhabitants could carry away had been before ſecured in ſuch ſtrong towns as had garriſons to protect them, and what was left the hungry Crabats devoured, or ſet on fire; but ſometimes they were met with by our men, who often paid them home for it.

There had paſſed ſeveral ſmall rencounters between our parties and theirs; and, as it falls out in ſuch caſes, ſometimes one ſide, ſometimes the other, got the better; but I have obſerved there never was any party ſent out by the king's ſpecial appointment but always came home with victory.

The firſt conſiderable attempt, as I remember, was made on a convoy of ammunition. The party ſent out was commanded by a Saxon colonel, and conſiſted of a thouſand horſe and five hundred dragoons, who burnt above ſix hundred waggons loaded with ammunition and ſtores for the army, beſides taking about two thouſand muſquets, which they brought back to the army.

The latter end of July the king received advice that the Imperialiſts had formed a magazine for proviſions at a town called Freynſtat, twenty miles from Nurenburgh. Hither all the booty and con-

tributions raiſed in the Upper Palatinate, and parts adjacent, were brought and laid up in a place of ſecurity, a garriſon of ſix hundred men being placed to defend it; and when a quantity of proviſions was got together, convoys were appointed to fetch it off.

The king was reſolved, if poſſible, to take or deſtroy this magazine; and ſending for colonel Dubalt, a Swede, a man of extraordinary conduct, he told him his deſign, that he muſt be the man to put it in execution, and ordered him to take what forces he thought convenient.

The colonel, who well knew the town, and the country about it, told his majeſty he would attempt it; but it would require ſome foot to make the attack.

"We cannot ſtay for them," ſaid the king—"you muſt then take ſome dragoons with you;" and immediately the king called for me.

I was juſt going up the ſtairs as the king's page was coming out to inquire for me; ſo I went immediately to the king.

"Here is a piece of hot work for you, Cava-"lier—Dubalt will tell it you—go together and "contrive it."

We immediately withdrew, and when the colonel had acquainted me with the diſcourſe which had paſſed between the king and himſelf, I replied I thought dragoons might do as well; ſo we agreed

to take ſixteen hundred horſe and four hundred dragoons.

The king, impatient in his deſign, came into the room to us to know what we had reſolved on, approved our meaſures, gave us orders immediately, and, turning to me, ſaid, "Cavalier, you ſhall "command the dragoons, but Dubalt muſt be "general in this caſe, for he knows the country."

"Your majeſty," ſaid I, "ſhall be always "ſerved by me in any figure you pleaſe."—The king wiſhed us good ſpeed, and hurried us away the ſame afternoon, in order to get to the place in time.

We could march but ſlowly becauſe of the carriages we had with us, and came to Freynſtat about one o'clock in the night perfectly undiſcovered. The guards were ſo negligent, that we came to the very port before they had notice of us; and a ſerjeant with twelve dragoons thruſt in upon the outcentinels, and killed them without noiſe.

Immediately ladders were placed to the halfmoon which defended the gate, which the dragoons mounted and carried in a trice, about twenty-eight men being cut in pieces within. As ſoon as the ravelin was taken, they burſt open the gate, at which I entered at the head of two hundred dragoons, and ſeized the drawbridge. By this time the town was in alarm, and the drums beat to

arms, but it was too late; for by the help of a petard we broke open the gate, and entered the town.

The garriſon made an obſtinate reſiſtance for about half an hour; but our men being all in, and three troops of horſe diſmounted coming to our aſſiſtance with their carbines, the town was entirely maſtered by three of the clock, and guards ſent to prevent any body running to give notice to the enemy.

There were about two hundred of the garriſon killed, and the reſt taken priſoners. The town being thus ſecured, the gates were opened, and colonel Dubalt came in with the horſe.

The guards being ſet, we entered the magazine, where we found an incredible quantity of all ſorts of proviſion. There was one hundred and fifty tons of bread, eight thouſand ſacks of meal, four thouſand ſacks of oats, and of other proviſions in proportion.

We cauſed as much of it as could be loaded to be brought away in ſuch waggons and carriages as we found, and ſet the reſt on fire, town and all. We ſtaid by it till we ſaw it paſt a poſſibility of being ſaved, and then drew off with eight hundred waggons which we found in the place, moſt of which we loaded with bread, meal, and oats.

While we were doing this we ſent a party of

dragoons into the fields, who met us again as we came out with above a thouſand head of black cattle, beſides ſheep.

Our next care was to bring this booty home without meeting with the enemy; to ſecure which colonel Dubalt immediately diſpatched an expreſs to the king to let him know of our ſucceſs, and to deſire a detachment might be made to ſecure our retreat, being charged with ſo much plunder.

And it was well the colonel did ſo; for though we had uſed all the diligence poſſible to prevent any notice, yet ſomebody had carried the news to the Imperial army; and their general, upon this, detached major-general Sparr with a body of ſix thouſand men to cut off our retreat.

The king, who had notice of this detachment, marched out in perſon with three thouſand men to wait upon general Sparr. All this was the account of one day. The king met general Sparr at the moment when his troops were divided, fell upon them, routed one part of them, and the reſt in a few hours after; killed them one thouſand men, and took general Sparr priſoner.

In the interval of this action we came ſafe to the camp with our booty, which was very conſiderable, and would have ſupplied our whole army for a month. Thus we feaſted at the enemy's coſt, and beat them into the bargain.

The king gave all the live cattle to the Nurenburghers, who, though they had really no want of proviſions, yet freſh meat was not ſo plentiful as ſuch proviſions which were ſtored up in veſſels and laid by.

After this ſkirmiſh we had the country more at command than before, and daily fetched in freſh proviſions and forage in the fields.

The two armies had now lain a long time in ſight of one another, and daily ſkirmiſhes had conſiderably weakened them; and the king, beginning to be impatient, haſtened the advancement of his friends to join him, in which alſo they were not backward; but having drawn together their forces from ſeveral parts, and all joined the chancellor Oxenſtern, news came the 15th of Auguſt that they were in full march to join us; and being come to a ſmall town called Bruck, the king went out of the camp with about one thouſand horſe to view them.

I went along with the horſe, and the 21ſt of Auguſt ſaw the review of all the armies together, which were thirty thouſand men, in extraordinary equipage, old ſoldiers, and commanded by officers of the greateſt conduct and experience in the world. There was the rich chancellor of Sweden, who commanded as general; Guſtavus Horne and John Bannier, both Swedes, and old generals; duke

William and duke Bernard of Weimar; the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel; the palatine of Birkenfield; and abundance of princes and lords of the empire.

The armies being joined, the king, who was now a match for Walleſtein, quitted his camp, and drew up in battalia before the Imperial trenches; but the ſcene was changed—Walleſtein was no more able to fight now than the king was before; but keeping within his trenches, ſtood upon his guard. The king, coming up cloſe to his works, planted batteries, and cannonaded him in his very camp.

The Imperialiſts, finding the king preſs upon them, retreated into a woody country about three leagues, and taking poſſeſſion of an old ruined caſtle, poſted their army behind it.

This old caſtle they fortified, and placed a very ſtrong guard there. The king having viewed the place, though it was a very ſtrong poſt, reſolved to attack it with the whole right wing. The attack was made with a great deal of order and reſolution, the king leading the firſt party on with ſword in hand, and the fight was maintained on both ſides with the utmoſt obſtinacy all the day and the next night too, for the cannon and muſquet never gave over until the morning; but the Imperialiſts having the advantage of the hill, of their works and batteries, and being continually relieved, and the Swedes naked, without cannon or works, the poſt

was maintained; and the king, finding it would coſt him too much blood, drew off in the morning.

This was the famous fight at Altenberg, where the Imperialiſts boaſted to have ſhewn the world the king of Sweden was not invincible. They called it the victory at Altenberg. It is true the king failed in his attempt of carrying their works; but there was ſo little of a victory in it, that the Imperial general thought fit not to venture a ſecond attack, but to draw off their army as ſoon as they could to a ſafer quarter.

I had no ſhare in this battle, very few of the horſe being in the action; but my comrade, who was always among the Scots volunteers, was wounded and taken priſoner by the enemy. They uſed him very civilly; and the king and Walleſtein ſtraining courteſies with one another, the king releaſed major-general Sparr without ranſom, and the Imperial general ſent home colonel Tortenſon, a Swede, and ſixteen volunteer gentlemen who were taken in the heat of the action, among whom my friend was one.

The king lay fourteen days facing the Imperial army, and uſing all the ſtratagems poſſible to bring them to a battle, but to no purpoſe; during which time we had parties continually out, and very often ſkirmiſhes with the enemy.

I had a command of one of theſe parties in an

adventure wherein I got no booty, nor much honour. The king had received advice of a convoy of proviſions which was to come to the enemy's camp from the Upper Palatinate, and intending to ſurpriſe them, he commanded us to waylay them with twelve hundred horſe, and eight hundred dragoons. I had exact directions given me of the way they were to come, and poſting my horſe in a village a little out of the road, I lay with my dragoons in a wood by which they were to paſs by break of day.

The enemy appeared with their convoy, and being very wary, their outſcouts diſcovered us, and fired upon the centinel I had poſted in a tree at the entrance of the wood. Finding myſelf diſcovered, I would have retreated to the village where my horſe were poſted; but in a moment the wood was ſkirted with the enemy's horſe, and a thouſand muſqueteers advanced to beat me out.

In this dilemma I ſent away three meſſengers one after another for the horſe, who were within two miles of me, to advance to my relief; but all my meſſengers fell into the enemy's hands. Four hundred of my dragoons on foot, whom I had placed at a little diſtance before me, ſtood to their work, and beat off two charges of the enemy's foot, with ſome loſs on both ſides: mean time two hundred of my men faced about, and, ruſhing out of the wood,

broke through a party of the enemy's horſe who ſtood to watch our coming out.

I confeſs I was exceedingly ſurpriſed at it, thinking thoſe fellows had done it to make their eſcape, or elſe were gone over to the enemy; and my men were ſo diſcouraged at it, that they began to look about which way to run for ſafety, and were juſt upon the point of diſbanding to ſhift for themſelves, when one of the captains called to me aloud to beat a parley and treat. I made no anſwer, as if I had not heard him, and immediately gave the word for all the captains to come together. The conſultation was but ſhort; for the muſqueteers were advancing to a third charge with numbers which we were not likely to deal with.

In ſhort, we reſolved to beat a parley, and demand quarter, for that was all we could expect; when on a ſudden the body of horſe I had poſted in the village, being directed by the noiſe, had advanced to relieve me, if they ſaw occaſion, and had met the two hundred dragoons, who guided them directly to the ſpot where they had broke through, and all together fell upon the horſe of the enemy who were poſted on that ſide, and, maſtering them before they could be relieved, cut them all to pieces and brought me off.

Under the ſhelter of this party we made good our retreat to the village, but we loſt above three

hundred men, and were glad to make off from the village too, for the enemy were very much too ſtrong for us.

Returning thence towards the camp we met with two hundred Crabats who had been upon the plundering account: we made ourſelves ſome amends upon them for our former loſs, for we ſhewed them no mercy; but our misfortunes were not ended, for we had but juſt diſpatched thoſe Crabats when we fell in with three thouſand Imperial horſe, who, on the expectation of the aforeſaid convoy, were ſent out to ſecure them.

All I could do could not perſuade my men to ſtand their ground againſt this party; ſo that, finding they would run away in confuſion, I agreed to make off, and, facing to the right, we went over a large common a full trot, till at laſt fear, which always increaſes in a flight, brought us to a gallop, with the enemy at our heels.

I muſt confeſs I was never ſo mortified in my life—it was to no purpoſe to turn—no man would ſtand by us—we run for life—and a great many we left by the way, who were either wounded by the enemy's ſhot, or elſe could not keep pace with us.

At laſt, having got over the common, which was near two miles, we came to a lane: one of our captains, a Saxon, and a gentleman of good fortune, alighted at the entrance of the lane, and with a bold heart faced about, ſhot his own horſe,

and called his men to ſtand by him and defend the lane. Some of his men halted, and we rallied about ſix hundred men, which we poſted as well as we could to defend the paſs; but the enemy charged us with great fury.

The Saxon gentleman, after defending himſelf with exceeding gallantry, and refuſing quarter, was killed upon the ſpot. A German dragoon gave me a blow with the ſtock of his piece on my head, and was juſt going to repeat it, when one of my men ſhot him dead. I was ſo ſtunned with the blow, that I knew nothing; but, recovering, I found myſelf in the hands of two of the enemy's officers, who offered me quarter, which I accepted; and, indeed, to give them their due, they uſed me very civilly.

Thus this whole party was defeated, and not above five hundred men got ſafe to the army; nor had half the number eſcaped, had not the Saxon captain made ſo bold a ſtand at the head of the lane.

Several other parties of the king's army revenged our quarrel, and paid them home for it; but I had a particular loſs in this defeat, that I never ſaw the king of Sweden after: for though his majeſty ſent a trumpet to reclaim us as priſoners the very next day, yet I was not delivered, ſome ſcruple happening about exchanging, till after the battle of Lutzen, where that gallant prince loſt his life.

The Imperial army aroſe from their camp about eight or ten days after the king had removed, and I was carried priſoner in the army till they ſat down to the ſiege of Coburg caſtle, and then was left with other priſoners of war, in the cuſtody of colonel Spezuter, in a ſmall caſtle near the camp called Newſtat.

Here we continued indifferently well treated, but could learn nothing of what action the armies were upon, till the duke of Fridland, having been beaten off from the caſtle of Coburg, marched into Saxony, and the priſoners were ſent for into the camp, as was ſaid, in order to be exchanged.

I came into the Imperial leaguer at the ſiege of Leipſic, and within three days after my coming the city was ſurrendered, and I got liberty to lodge at my old quarters in the town upon my parole.

The king of Sweden was at the heels of the Imperialiſts; for finding Walleſtein reſolved to ruin the elector of Saxony, the king had re-collected as much of his divided army as he could, and came upon him juſt as he was going to beſiege Torgaw.

As it is not my deſign to write a hiſtory of any more of theſe wars than I was actually concerned in, ſo I ſhall only note, that, upon the king's approach, Walleſtein halted, and likewiſe called all his troops together, for he apprehended the king would fall on him; and we that were priſoners

fancied the Imperial ſoldiers went unwillingly out, for the very name of the king of Sweden was become terrible to them.

In ſhort, they drew all the ſoldiers of the garriſon they could ſpare out of Leipſic, ſent for Papenheim again, who was gone but three days before with ſix thouſand men on a private expedition.

On the 16th of November the armies met on the plains of Lutzen—a long and bloody battle was fought — the Imperialiſts were entirely routed and beaten, twelve thouſand ſlain upon the ſpot, their cannon, baggage, and two thouſand priſoners taken; but the king of Sweden loſt his life, being killed at the head of his troops in the beginning of the fight *.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the conſternation the death of this conquering king ſtruck into all the princes of Germany — the grief for him exceeded all manner of human ſorrow.

All people looked upon themſelves as ruined and ſwallowed up — the inhabitants of two thirds of all Germany put themſelves into mourning for him. When the miniſters mentioned him in their ſermons or prayers, whole congregations would burſt

* Another hiſtorian relates it thus :—Here the Swedes obtained a victory over the Germans, anno 1632; but loſt their king, the heroic Guſtavus Adolphus, who, being wounded reconnoitring, was baſely diſpatched by a ſervant of his own.

out into tears. The elector of Saxony was utterly inconſolable, and would for ſeveral days walk about his palace like a diſtracted man, crying, The ſaviour of Germany was loſt; the refuge of abuſed princes was gone; the ſoul of the war was dead: and from that hour was ſo hopeleſs of outliving the war, that he ſought to make peace with the emperor.

Three days after this mournful victory the Saxons recovered the town of Leipſic by ſtratagem. The duke of Saxony's forces lay at Torgaw, and, perceiving the confuſion the Imperialiſts were in at the news of the overthrow of their army, they reſolved to attempt the recovery of the town.

They ſent about twenty ſcattering troopers, who, pretending themſelves to be Imperialiſts fled from the battle, were let in one by one; and ſtill as they came in they ſtaid at the court of guard in the port entertaining the ſoldiers with diſcourſe about the fight, and how they eſcaped, and the like, till the whole number being got in, at a watch word they fell on the guard, and cut them all in pieces, and immediately opening the gate to three troops of Saxon horſe, the town was taken in a moment.

It was a welcome ſurpriſe to me, for I was at liberty of courſe; and the war being now on another footing, as I thought, and the king dead, I reſolved to quit the ſervice.

I had ſent my man, as I have already noted,

into England, in order to bring over the troops my father had raiſed for the king of Sweden. He executed his commiſſion ſo well, that he landed with five troops at Embden in very good condition, and orders were ſent them by the king to join the duke of Lunenburg's army; which they did at the ſiege of Boxthude in the Lower Saxony. Here, by long and very ſharp ſervice, they were moſt of them cut off; and though they were ſeveral times recruited, yet I underſtood there were not three full troops left.

The duke of Saxe-Weimar, a gentleman of great courage, had the command of the army after the death of the king, and managed it with ſo much prudence, that all things were in as much order as could be expected after ſo great a loſs; for the Imperialiſts were every where beaten, and Walleſtein never made any advantage of the king's death.

I waited on the duke at Hailbron, whither he was gone to meet the chancellor of Sweden, where I paid him my reſpects, and deſired he would beſtow the remainder of my regiment on my comrade, captain Fielding, which he did with all the civility and readineſs imaginable. I then took leave of my friend, and prepared to come for England.

I ſhall only note, that at this diet the Proteſtant princes of the empire renewed their league with one another, and with the crown of Sweden, and

came to ſeveral regulations and concluſions for the carrying on the war, which they afterwards proſecuted under the direction of the ſaid chancellor of Sweden.

But it was not the work of a ſmall difficulty, nor of a ſhort time. Having been perſuaded to continue almoſt two years afterwards at Frankfort, Hailbron, and thereabout, by the particular friendſhip of that noble, wiſe man, and extraordinary ſtateſman, Axell Oxenſtern, chancellor of Sweden, I had an opportunity to be concerned in, and preſent at, ſeveral treaties of extraordinary conſequence, ſufficient for a hiſtory, if that were my deſign.

Particularly, I had the happineſs to be preſent at, and have ſome concern in, the treaty for the reſtoring the poſterity of the truly-noble Palſgrave king of Bohemia. King James of England had, indeed, too much neglected the whole family; and I may ſay with authority enough, from my own knowledge of affairs, had nothing been done for them but what was from England, that family had remained deſolate and forſaken to this day.

But that glorious king, Guſtavus, whom I can never mention without ſome remark of his extraordinary merit, had left particular inſtructions with his chancellor to reſcue the Palatinate to its rightful lord, as a proof of his deſign to reſtore the liberty of Germany, and reinſtate the oppreſſed

princes who were ſubjected to the tyranny of the houſe of Auſtria.

Purſuant to this reſolution, the chancellor proceeded very much like a man of honour; and though the king of Bohemia died a little before, yet he carefully managed the treaty, anſwered the objections of ſeveral princes who, in the general ruin of the family, had reaped private advantages, ſettled the capitulations for the quota of contributions very much for their advantage, and fully reinſtalled the prince Charles in the poſſeſſion of all his dominions in the Lower Palatinate, which afterwards was confirmed to him and his poſterity by the peace of Weſtphalia, where all theſe bloody wars were finiſhed in a peace, which has ſince been the foundation of the Proteſtants' liberty, and the beſt ſecurity of the whole empire.

I ſpent two years rather in wandering up and down than travelling; for though I had no mind to ſerve, yet I could not find in my heart to leave Germany; and I had obtained ſome ſo very cloſe intimacies with the general officers, that I was often in the army, and ſometimes they did me the honour to bring me into their councils of war.

Particularly, at that eminent council before the battle of Norlingen, I was invited to the council of war, both by duke Bernard of Weimar, and by Guſtavus Horne. They were generals of equal worth, and their courage and experience had been

ſo well and ſo often tried, that more than ordinary regard was always given to what they ſaid. Duke Bernard was indeed the younger man, and Horne had ſerved longer under our great maſter the king; but it was hard to judge which was the better general, ſince they had experience enough, and ſhewn undeniable proofs both of their bravery and conduct.

I am obliged, in the courſe of my relation, ſo frequently to mention the great reſpect I often received from theſe great men, that it makes me ſometimes jealous leſt the reader may think I affect it as a vanity.

The truth is, and I am ready to confeſs the honours I received, upon all occaſions, from perſons of ſuch worth, and who had ſuch an eminent ſhare in the greateſt actions of that age, very much pleaſed me, and particularly as they gave me occaſions to ſee every thing that was doing on the whole ſtage of the war; for being under no command, but at liberty to rove about, I could come to no Swediſh garriſon or party, but ſending my name to the commanding officer, I could have the word ſent me; and if I came into the army, I was often treated as I was now at this famous battle of Norlingen.

I cannot but ſay that I always looked upon this particular reſpect to be the effect of more than ordinary regard the great king of Sweden always

ſhewed me, rather than any merit of my own; and the veneration they all had for his memory made them continue to ſhew me all the marks of a ſuitable eſteem.

But to return to the council of war — the great, and indeed the only queſtion before us was, Shall we give battle to the Imperialiſts or not?—Guſtavus Horne was againſt it, and gave, as I thought, the moſt invincible arguments againſt a battle that reaſon could imagine.

Firſt, They were weaker than the enemy by above five thouſand men.

Secondly, The cardinal infant of Spain, who was in the Imperial army with eight thouſand men, was but there as a paſſenger, being going from Italy to Flanders to take upon him the government of the Low Countries; and if he ſaw no proſpect of immediate action, would be gone in a few days.

Thirdly, They had two reinforcements, one of five thouſand men under the command of colonel Cratz, and one of ſeven thouſand men under the Rhinegrave, who were juſt at hand, the laſt within three days march of them.

Laſtly, They had already ſaved their honour, in that they had put ſix hundred foot into the town of Norlingen, in the face of the enemy's army, and conſequently the town might hold out ſome days longer.

Fate, rather than reaſon, certainly blinded the

reſt of the generals againſt ſuch arguments as theſe. Duke Bernard and almoſt all the generals were for fighting, alledging, the affront it would be to the Swediſh reputation to ſee their friends in the town loſt before their faces.

Guſtavus Horne ſtood ſtiff to his cautious advice, and was againſt it; and I thought baron d'Offkirk treated him a little indecently, for, being very warm in the matter, he told them, "That "if Guſtavus Adolphus had been governed by "ſuch cowardly council, he had never been con-"queror of half Germany in two years."

"No," replied old general Horne, very ſmartly; "but had he been now alive to have teſtified for "me that I was never taken by him for a coward, "and yet the king was never for a victory with a "hazard when he could have it without."

I was aſked my opinion, which I would have declined, not being in any commiſſion; but they preſſed me to ſpeak. I told them I was for ſtaying at leaſt till the Rhinegrave came up, who might, if expreſſes were ſent to haſten him, be with us in twenty-four hours. But Offkirk could not hold his paſſion; and, had not he been over-ruled, he would have almoſt quarrelled with marſhal Horne. Upon which the old general, not to foment him, with a great deal of mildneſs, ſpoke thus:

"Come, Offkirk, I'll ſubmit my opinion to you "and the majority of our fellow ſoldiers. We

" will fight; but, upon my word, we ſhall have " our hands full."

The reſolution thus taken, they attacked the Imperial army.—I muſt confeſs the councils of this day ſeemed as confuſed as the reſolutions of the night.

Duke Bernard was to lead the van of the left wing, and to poſt himſelf upon a hill which was on the enemy's right without their entrenchments; ſo that, having ſecured that poſt, they might level their cannon upon the foot who ſtood behind the lines, and relieved the town at pleaſure.

He marched accordingly by break of day, and falling with great fury upon eight regiments of foot which were poſted at the bottom of the hill, he preſently routed them, and made himſelf maſter of the poſt. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, he never regarded his own concerted meaſures of ſtopping there, and poſſeſſing what he had got, but puſhed on and fell in with the main body of the enemy's army.

While this was doing Guſtavus Horne attacked another poſt on a hill, where the Spaniards had poſted and lodged themſelves behind ſome works they had caſt up on the ſide of the hill. Here they defended themſelves with extreme obſtinacy for five hours, and at laſt obliged the Swedes to give it over with loſs.

This extraordinary gallantry of the Spaniards

was the ſaving of the Imperial army; for duke Bernard having all this while reſiſted the frequent charges of the Imperialiſts, and borne the weight of two thirds of their army, was not able to ſtand any longer; but ſending one meſſenger on the neck of another to Guſtavus Horne for more foot, he, finding he could not carry his point, had given it over, and was in full march to ſecond the duke.

But now it was too late; for the king of Hungary, ſeeing the duke's men, as it were, wavering, and having notice of Horne's wheeling about to ſecond him, fell in with all his force upon his flank, and with his Hungarian huſſars made ſuch a furious charge, that the Swedes could ſtand no longer.

The rout of the left wing was ſo much the more unhappy, as it happened juſt upon Guſtavus Horne's coming up; for being puſhed on with the enemies at their heels, they were driven upon their own friends, who, having no ground to open and give them way, were trodden down by their own runaway brethren. This brought all into the utmoſt confuſion. The Imperialiſts cried "Victoria," and fell into the middle of the infantry with a terrible ſlaughter.

I have always obſerved it is fatal to upbraid an old, experienced officer with want of courage. If Guſtavus Horne had not been whetted with the reproaches of baron d'Offkirk, and ſome of the other general officers, I believe it had ſaved the lives of

one thouſand men; for, when all was thus loſt, ſeveral officers adviſed him to make a retreat with ſuch regiments as he had yet unbroken, but nothing could perſuade him to ſtir a foot; but, turning his flank into a front, he ſaluted the enemy as they paſſed by him in purſuit of the reſt with ſuch terrible vollies of ſmall ſhot, as coſt them the lives of abundance of their men.

The Imperialiſts, eager in the purſuit, left him unbroken, till the Spaniſh brigade came up and charged him: theſe he bravely repulſed with a great ſlaughter, and after them a body of dragoons; till being laid at on every ſide, and moſt of his men killed, the brave old general, with all the reſt who were left, were made priſoners.

The Swedes had a terrible loſs here; for almoſt all their infantry were killed or taken priſoners. Guſtavus Horne refuſed quarter ſeveral times, and ſtill thoſe that attacked him were cut down by his men, who fought like furies, and, by the example of their general, behaved themſelves like lions. But at laſt theſe poor remains of a body of the braveſt men in the world were forced to ſubmit. I have heard him ſay, he had much rather have died than been taken, but that he yielded in compaſſion to ſo many brave men as were about him; for none of them would take quarter till he gave his conſent.

I had the worſt ſhare in this battle that ever I

had in any action of my life, and that was, to be poſted among as brave a body of horſe as any in Germany, and yet not to be able to ſuccour our own men, for our foot were cut in pieces, as it were, before our faces, and the ſituation of the ground was ſuch as we could not fall in. All that we were able to do was to carry off about two thouſand of the foot, who, running away in the rout of the left wing, rallied among our ſquadrons, and got away with us.

Thus we ſtood till we ſaw all was loſt, and then made the beſt retreat we could to ſave ourſelves, ſeveral regiments having never charged nor fired a ſhot; for the foot had ſo embarraſſed themſelves among the lines and works of the enemy, and in the vineyards and mountains, that the horſe were rendered abſolutely unſerviceable.

The Rhinegrave had made ſuch expedition to join us, that he reached within three miles of the place of action that night, and he was a great ſafeguard for us in rallying our diſperſed men, who elſe had fallen into the enemy's hands, and in checking the purſuit of the enemy.

And, indeed, had but any conſiderable body of the foot made an orderly retreat, it had been very probable they had given the enemy a bruſh that would have turned the ſcale of victory; for our horſe being whole, and in a manner untouched, the enemy found ſuch a check in the purſuit, that

ſixteen hundred of their forwardeſt men, following too eagerly, fell in with the Rhinegrave's advanced troops the next day, and were cut in pieces without mercy.

This gave us ſome ſatisfaction for the loſs, but it was but ſmall compared to the ruin of that day. We loſt near eight thouſand men upon the ſpot, and above three thouſand priſoners, all our cannon and baggage, and one hundred and twenty colours. I thought I never made ſo indifferent a figure in my life, and ſo we thought all, to come away, loſe our infantry, our general, and our honour, and never fight for it.

Duke Bernard was utterly diſconſolate for old Guſtavus Horne, for he concluded him killed: he tore the hair from his head like a mad man, and, telling the Rhinegrave the ſtory of the council of war, would reproach himſelf with not taking his advice, often repeating it in his paſſion, "'Tis I," ſaid he, "have been the death of the braveſt ge-"neral in Germany;" would call himſelf fool and boy, and ſuch names, for not liſtening to the reaſons of an old, experienced ſoldier. But when he heard he was alive in the enemy's hands he was the eaſier, and applied himſelf to the recruiting his troops, and other buſineſs of the war; and it was not long before he paid the Imperialiſts with intereſt.

I returned to Frankfort au Main after this action,

which happened the 17th of Auguſt, 1634; but the progreſs of the Imperialiſts was ſo great, that there was no ſtaying at Frankfort. The chancellor Oxenſtern removed to Magdeburg, duke Bernard and the landgrave marched into Alſatia, and the Imperialiſts carried all before them for all the reſt of the campaign: they took Philipſburgh by ſurpriſe; they took Augſburgh by famine; Spire and Treves by ſieges, taking the elector priſoner.

But this ſucceſs did one piece of ſervice to the Swedes, that it brought the French into the war on their ſide, for the elector of Treves was their confederate. The French gave the conduct of the war to duke Bernard. This, though the duke of Saxony fell off, and fought againſt them, turned the ſcale ſo much in their favour, that they recovered their loſſes, and proved a terror to all Germany. The farther accounts of the war I refer to the hiſtories of thoſe times, which I have ſince read with great delight.

I confeſs, when I ſaw the progreſs of the Imperial army after the battle of Norlingen, and the duke of Saxony turning his arms againſt them, I thought their affairs declining; and giving them over for loſt, I left Frankfort, and came down the Rhine to Cologne, and from thence into Holland.

I came to the Hague the 8th of March, 1635,

having been three years and a half in Germany, and the greateſt part of it in the Swediſh army.

I ſpent ſome time in Holland viewing the wonderful power of art which I obſerved in the fortifications of their towns, where the very baſtions ſtand on bottomleſs moraſſes, and yet are as firm as any in the world. There I had the opportunity to ſee the Dutch army, and their famous general, prince Maurice.

It is true the men behaved themſelves well in action, when they were put to it; but the prince's way of beating his enemies, without fighting, was ſo unlike the gallantry of my royal inſtructor, that it had no manner of reliſh with me.

Guſtavus Adolphus's way was always to ſeek out the enemy and fight him; and give the Imperialiſts their due, they were ſeldom hard to be found, but were as free of their fleſh as we were.

Whereas prince Maurice would lie in a camp till he ſtarved half his men, if by lying there he could but ſtarve two thirds of his enemy's; ſo that indeed the war in Holland had more of fatigues and hardſhips in it, and ours had more of fighting and blows: haſty marches, long and unwholeſome encampments, winter parties, countermarching, dodging, and entrenching, were the exerciſes of his men, and oftentimes killed him more men with hunger, cold, and diſeaſes, than he could do with fighting.

Not that it required leſs courage, but rather more; for a ſoldier had, at any time, rather die in the field by a muſquet than be ſtarved with hunger, or frozen to death in the trenches.

Nor do I think I leſſen the reputation of that prince; for it is moſt certain he ruined the Spaniards more by ſpinning the war thus out in length than he could poſſibly have done by a ſwift conqueſt: for had he, Adolphus like, with a torrent of victory diſlodged the Spaniard of all the twelve provinces in five years, whereas he was forty years beating them out of ſeven, he had left them rich and ſtrong at home, and able to keep him in conſtant apprehenſions of a return of their power.

Whereas, by the long continuance of the war, he ſo broke the very heart of the Spaniſh monarchy, ſo abſolutely and irrecoverably impoveriſhed them, that they have ever ſince languiſhed of the diſeaſe, till they are fallen from the moſt powerful to be the moſt deſpicable nation in the world.

The prodigious charge the king of Spain was at in loſing the ſeven provinces broke the very ſpirit of the nation, and that ſo much, that all the wealth of their Peruvian mountains have not been able to retrieve it.

King Philip having often declared that war, beſides his armada for invading England, had coſt him three hundred and ſeventy millions of ducats, and four millions of the beſt ſoldiers in Europe;

whereof, by an unreaſonable Spaniſh obſtinacy, above ſixty thouſand loſt their lives before Oſtend, a town not worth a ſixth part either of the blood or money it coſt in a ſiege of three years, and which at laſt he had never taken, but that prince Maurice thought it not worth the charge of defending it any longer.

However, I ſay, their way of fighting in Holland did not reliſh with me at all. The prince lay a long time before a little fort called Shenkſcans, which the Spaniard took by ſurpriſe; and I thought he might have taken it much ſooner. Perhaps it might be my miſtake; but I fancied my hero, the king of Sweden, would have carried it ſword in hand in half the time.

However it was, I did not like it; ſo, in the latter end of the year, I came to the Hague, and took ſhipping for England, where I arrived, to the great ſatisfaction of my father and all my friends.

My father was then in London, and carried me to kiſs the king's hand. His majeſty was pleaſed to receive me, and to ſay a great many very obliging things to my father upon my account.

I ſpent my time very retired from court, for I was almoſt wholly in the country; and it being ſo much different from my genius, which hankered after a warmer ſport than hunting among our Welch mountains, I could not but be peeping in all the foreign accounts from Germany to ſee who and who

were together. I could never hear of a battle, and the Germans being beaten, but I began to wiſh myſelf there.

But when an account came of the progreſs of John Bannier, the Swediſh general in Saxony, and of the conſtant victories he had there over the Saxons, I could no longer contain myſelf, and told my father this life was very diſagreeable to me; that I loſt my time here, and might to much more advantage go into Germany, where I was ſure I might make my fortune upon my own terms; that, as young as I was, I might have been a general officer by this time, if I had not laid down my commiſſion; that general Bannier, or general Horne, had either of them ſo much reſpect for me, that I was ſure I might have any thing of them; and if he pleaſed to give me leave, I would go to Germany again.

My father was very unwilling to let me go; but, ſeeing me uneaſy, ſaid, that if I was reſolved to ramble again, he would oblige me to ſtay no longer in England than the next ſpring, and then I ſhould have his conſent.

The winter following began to look very unpleaſant upon us in England, and my father uſed often to ſigh at it, and would ſometimes lament he was afraid we ſhould have no need to ſend Engliſhmen to fight in Germany.

The cloud that ſeemed to threaten moſt was from

Scotland. My father, who had made himſelf maſter of the arguments on both ſides, uſed to be often ſaying he feared there was ſome about the king who exaſperated him too much againſt the Scots, and drove things too high.

For my part, I confeſs I did not much trouble my head with the cauſe; and all my concern was, they would not fall out, and we ſhould have no fighting. I have often reflected ſince, that I ought to have known better, that had ſeen how the moſt flouriſhing provinces of Germany were reduced to the moſt miſerable condition that ever any country in the world was, by the ravagings of ſoldiers, and the calamities of war.

How much ſoever I was to blame, yet ſo it was, I had a ſecret joy at the news of the king's raiſing an army, and nothing could have withheld me from appearing in it; but my eagerneſs was anticipated by an expreſs the king ſent to my father to know if his ſon was in England; and my father having ordered me to carry the anſwer myſelf, I waited upon his majeſty with the meſſenger. The king received me with his uſual kindneſs, and aſked me if I was willing to ſerve him againſt the Scots?

I anſwered, I was ready to ſerve him againſt any that his majeſty thought fit to account his enemies, and ſhould eſteem it an honour to receive his commands. Hereupon his majeſty offered me a commiſſion. I told him I ſuppoſed there would not be

much time for raiſing of men; that if his majeſty pleaſed I would be at the rendezvous with as many gentlemen as I could get together to ſerve his majeſty as volunteers.

The truth is, I found all the regiments of horſe the king deſigned to raiſe were but two, as regiments; the reſt of the horſe were ſuch as the nobility raiſed in their ſeveral counties, and commanded them themſelves. As I had commanded a regiment of horſe abroad, I ſaid it was leſſening my reputation to ſerve with a ſingle troop at home; and, by the king's anſwer, it appeared he thought ſo himſelf.

"Indeed, Cavalier, it will be a volunteer war, "for the northern gentry have ſent me an account "of above four thouſand horſe they have already."

I bowed, and told his majeſty I was glad to hear his ſubjects were ſo forward to ſerve him; ſo, taking his majeſty's orders to be at York by the end of March, I took my leave of the king.

My father was very glad I had not taken a commiſſion, for I know, not from what kind of emulation between the weſtern and northern gentry, the gentlemen of our ſide were not very forward in the ſervice; their loyalty to the king in the ſucceeding times made it appear it was not from any diſaffection to his majeſty's intereſt or perſon, or to the cauſe; but this, however, made it difficult for me, when I came home, to get any gentleman

of quality to ſerve with me; ſo that I preſented myſelf to his majeſty only as a volunteer, with eight gentlemen, and about thirty-ſix countrymen, well mounted and armed.

And as it proved, theſe were enough, for this expedition ended in an accommodation with the Scots; and they not advancing ſo much as to their own borders, we never came to any action; but the armies lay in the counties of Northumberland and Durham, eat up the country, and ſpent the king a vaſt ſum of money, and ſo this war ended, a pacification was made, and both ſides returned.

Here I cannot help remarking, I never before ſaw ſuch a deſpicable appearance of men in arms to begin a war; whether it was that I had ſeen ſo many braver armies abroad that prejudiced me againſt them, or that really it was ſo, for to me they ſeemed little better than a rabble met together to devour, rather than fight, for their king and country. There was, indeed, a great appearance of gentlemen, and thoſe of extraordinary quality; but their garb, their equipages, and their mien, had not the appearance of war; their troops were filled with footmen and ſervants, and moſt wretchedly armed.

I believe I may ſay, without vanity, one regiment of Finland horſe would have made ſport at beating them all. There were ſuch crowds of parſons, for this was a church war in particular, that

the camp and court was full of them; and the king was ſo eternally beſieged with clergymen of one ſort or other, that it gave offence to the chief of the nobility.

As was the appearance, ſo was the ſervice—the army marched to the borders, and the head quarter was at Berwick upon Tweed; but the Scots never appeared, no, not ſo much as their ſcouts; whereupon the king called a council of war, and there it was reſolved to ſend the earl of Holland, with a party of horſe, into Scotland, to learn ſome news of the enemy; and truly, the firſt news we heard was, that, finding their army encamped about Coldingham, fifteen miles from Berwick, as ſoon as he appeared the Scots drew out a party to charge him; upon which moſt of the men halted—I do not ſay run away, but it was next kin to it; for they could not be perſuaded to fire their pieces, and wheel off like ſoldiers, but retreated in ſuch a diſorderly and ſhameful manner, that had the enemy but either the courage or conduct to have followed them, it muſt have certainly ended in the ruin of the whole party.

# MEMOIRS OF A CAVALIER,

## *IN ENGLAND,*

### CONTINUED.

I CONFESS, when I went into arms at the beginning of this war*, I did not trouble myſelf to examine ſides: I was as glad to hear the drums beat for ſoldiers, as if I had been a mere Swiſs, who cares not which ſide gets the better, provided he receives his pay. I went as eagerly and blindly about this buſineſs as the meaneſt wretch that liſted in the army; nor had I the leaſt compaſſionate thought for the miſeries of my native country till after the battle at Edgehill.

I had known as much, and perhaps more than moſt in the army, what it was to have an enemy ranging in the bowels of a kingdom: I had ſeen the moſt flouriſhing provinces of Germany reduced to perfect deſerts, and the voracious Crabats, with inhuman barbarity, quenching the fires of the plundered villages with the blood of the inhabitants.

* The civil war between king Charles the Firſt and his Parliament.

Whether this had hardened me againſt the natural tenderneſs which I afterwards found return upon me, or not, I cannot tell; but I reflected upon myſelf afterwards with a great deal of trouble for the unconcernedneſs of my temper at the approaching ruin of my native country.

I was in the firſt army at York, as I have already noted, and I muſt confeſs had the leaſt ſatisfaction there that ever I found in an army in my life; for when I was in Germany with the king of Sweden we uſed to ſee the king with the general officers every morning on horſeback viewing his men, his artillery, his horſes, and always ſomething going forward.

Here we ſaw nothing but biſhops, courtiers, and clergymen, as buſy as if the direction of the war had been in them; the king was ſeldom ſeen among us, and never without ſome of them always about him.

Thoſe few of us that had ſeen the wars abroad, and would have made a ſhort end of this campaign for him, began to be very uneaſy; and, particularly, a certain nobleman took the freedom to tell the king, that the clergy would certainly ruin the expedition. The caſe was this—he would have had the king to have immediately marched into Scotland, and put the matter to the trial of a battle, and he frequently urged it; and the king, finding

his reaſons were good, was often of his opinion, but next morning he would be of another mind.

This nobleman was a man of conduct, and of unqueſtioned courage, and afterwards loſt his life for the king. He ſaw we had an army of young, ſtout fellows, and though they had not yet ſeen much ſervice, he was for bringing them to action, that the Scots might not have time to ſtrengthen themſelves, nor they have time, by idleneſs and ſotting, the bane of ſoldiers, to make themſelves unfit for any thing.

I was one morning in company with my lord, and as he was a warm man, and eager in his diſcourſe, ſaid, "A pox of theſe prieſts — it is for "them the king has raiſed this army, and put his "friends to a vaſt charge, and now we are come "they won't let us fight."

But I was afterwards convinced the clergy ſaw farther into the matter than we did: they ſaw the Scots had a better army than we had, bold and ready, commanded by brave officers; and they foreſaw that if we fought we ſhould be beaten, and if beaten they were undone.

It is true, when we came to the pacification which followed, I confeſs I was of the ſame mind my lord had been of; for we had better have fought, and been beaten, than have made ſo diſhonourable a treaty without ſtriking a ſtroke. This pacification ſeems to me to have laid the

ſcheme of all the blood and confuſion which followed in the civil war; for whatever the king and his friends might pretend to do by talking big, the Scots ſaw he was to be bullied into any thing, and that when it came to the puſh the courtiers never cared to bring it to blows.

I have little or nothing to ſay as to action in this mock expedition. The king was perſuaded at laſt to march to Berwick; a party of horſe went out to ſeek intelligence of the Scots, and as ſoon as they diſcovered them behaved as a few pages back does ſufficiently evidence.

This made the Scots ſo inſolent, that whereas before they lay encamped behind a river, and never ſhewed themſelves, in a ſort of modeſt deference to their king, which was the pretence of not being aggreſſors or invaders, only arming in their own defence; now, having been invaded by the Engliſh troops entering Scotland, they had what they wanted: and to ſhew it was not fear that reſtrained them before, but policy, now they came up in parties to our very gates, braving and facing us every day.

I had, with more curioſity than diſcretion, put myſelf as a volunteer at the head of one of our parties of horſe, under my lord Holland, when they went out to diſcover the enemy: they went, they ſaid, to ſee what the Scots were doing.

We had not marched far, but our ſcouts brought

word they had diſcovered ſome horſe, but could not come up to them, becauſe a river parted them. At the heels of theſe came another party of our men upon the ſpur to us, and ſaid the enemy was behind, which might be true for ought we knew, but they were ſo far behind that no body could ſee them, and yet the country was plain and open for above a mile before us.

Hereupon we made a halt, and indeed I was afraid it would have been a ſtrange ſort of a halt, for our men began to look one upon another, as they do in like caſes when they are going to break; and when the ſcouts came galloping in, the men were in ſuch diſorder, that, had but one man broke way, I am ſatisfied they had all run for it.

I found my lord Holland did not perceive it; but after the firſt ſurpriſe was a little over, I told my lord what I had obſerved, and that unleſs ſome courſe was immediately taken, they would all run at the firſt ſight of the enemy. I perceived he was much concerned at it, and began to conſult what courſe to take to prevent it.

I confeſs it is a difficult point to make men ſtand and face an enemy when fear has poſſeſſed their minds with an inclination to run away; but I will give that honour to the memory of that nobleman, who, though his experience in matters of war was ſmall, having never been in much ſervice, yet his courage made amends for it; for I am aſſured he

would not have turned his horſe from an army of enemies, nor have ſaved his life at the price of running away for it.

My lord ſoon ſaw as well as I the fright the men were in after I had given him a hint of it; and to encourage them rode through their ranks, and ſpoke cheerfully to them, and uſed what arguments he thought proper to ſettle their minds.

I remembered a ſaying which I had heard old marſhal Guſtavus Horne ſpeak in Germany—"If "you find your men faulter, or in doubt, never "ſuffer them to halt, but keep them advancing, "for while they are going forward it keeps up "their courage."

As ſoon as I could get an opportunity to ſpeak to him, I gave him this as my opinion.—"I ap-"prove of it," ſaid my lord; "but I am ſtudy-"ing to poſt them ſo that they cannot run if they "would; and if they ſtand but once to face the "enemy, I do not fear them afterwards."

While we were diſcourſing thus word was brought that ſeveral parties of the enemy were ſeen on the farther ſide of the river; upon which my lord gave the word to march, and as we were marching on my lord called out a lieutenant who had been an old ſoldier, with only five troopers whom he had moſt confidence in, and having given him his leſſon, he ſent him away: in a quarter of an hour one of the five troopers came back galloping and

hallooing, and told us his lieutenant had with his ſmall party beaten twenty of the enemy's horſe over the river, and had ſecured the paſs, and deſired my lord would march up to him immediately.

It is ſtrange that men's ſpirits ſhould be ſubject to ſuch ſudden changes, and capable of ſo much alteration from ſhadows of things. They were for running before they ſaw the enemy; now they are in haſte to be led on, and but that in raw men we are obliged to bear with any thing, the diſorder in both was intolerable.

The ſtory was a premeditated ſham, and not a word of truth in it, invented to raiſe their ſpirits, and cheat them out of their cowardly, phlegmatic apprehenſions, and my lord had his end in it, for they were all on fire to fall on; and I am perſuaded, had they been led immediately into a battle begun to their hands, they would have laid about them like furies, for there is nothing like victory to fluſh a young ſoldier.

Thus, while the humour was high, and the fermentation laſted, away we marched; and paſſing one of their great commons, which they call moors, we came to the river, as he called it, where our lieutenant was poſted with his four men: it was a little brook, fordable with eaſe; and, leaving a guard at the paſs, we advanced to the top of a ſmall aſcent, from whence we had a fair view of

the Scots army as they lay behind another river larger than the former.

Our men were poſted well enough behind a ſmall encloſure, with a narrow lane in their front, and my lord had cauſed his dragoons to be placed in the front to line the hedges; and in this poſture he ſtood viewing the enemy at a diſtance. The Scots, who had ſome intelligence of our coming, drew out three ſmall parties, and ſent them by different ways to obſerve our number; and forming a fourth party, which I gueſſed to be about ſix hundred horſe, advanced to the top of the plain, and drew up to face us, but never offered to attack us.

One of the ſmall parties, making about a hundred men, one third foot, paſſed upon our flank in view, but out of reach, and as they marched ſhouted at us, which our men, better pleaſed with that work than with fighting, readily enough anſwered, and would fain have fired at them for the pleaſure of making a noiſe, for they were too far off to hit them.

I obſerved that theſe parties had always ſome foot with them, and yet, if the horſe galloped or puſhed on ever ſo forward, the foot were as forward as they, which was an extraordinary advantage.

Guſtavus Adolphus, the king of ſoldiers, was the firſt that I obſerved found the advantage of mixing ſmall bodies of muſqueteers among his

horſe; and had he had ſuch nimble ſtrong fellows as theſe, he would have prized them above all the reſt of his men. Theſe were thoſe they call Highlanders: they would run on foot with their arms and all their accoutrements, and keep very good order too, and yet keep pace with the horſe, let them go at what rate they would.

When I ſaw the foot thus interlined among the horſe, together with the way of ordering their flying parties, it preſently occurred to my mind that here were ſome of our old Scots, returned from Germany, that had the ordering of matters, and, if ſo, I knew we were not a match for them.

Thus we ſtood facing the enemy, till our ſcouts brought us word the whole Scots army was in motion, and in full march to attack us; and though it was not true, and the fear of our men doubled every object, yet it was thought convenient to make our retreat. The whole matter was, that the ſcouts having informed them what they could of our ſtrength, the ſix hundred were ordered to march towards us, and three regiments of foot were drawn out to ſupport the horſe.

I know not whether they would have ventured to attack us, at leaſt, before their foot had come up; but whether they would have put it to the hazard or not, we were reſolved not to hazard the trial, ſo we drew down to the paſs; and as retreating looks ſomething like running away, eſpecially

when an enemy is at hand, our men had much ado to make their retreat paſs for a march, and not a flight; and, by their often looking behind them, any body might know what they would have done if they had been preſſed.

I confeſs I was heartily aſhamed when the Scots, coming up to the place where we had been poſted, ſtood and ſhouted at us. I would have perſuaded my lord to have charged them, and he would have done it with all his heart, but he thought it was not practicable; ſo we ſtood at gaze with them above two hours, by which time their foot were come up to them, and yet they did not offer to attack us.

I never was ſo aſhamed of myſelf in my life. We were all diſpirited. The Scots gentlemen would come out ſingly within ſhot of our poſt, which in a time of war is always accounted a challenge to any ſingle gentleman to come out and exchange a piſtol with them, and no body would ſtir. At laſt our old lieutenant rode out to meet a Scotchman that came pickeering on his quarter.

This lieutenant was a brave and a ſtrong fellow, had been a ſoldier in the Low Countries, and though he was not of any quality, only a mere ſoldier, had his preferment for his conduct. He galloped bravely up to his adverſary, and, exchanging their piſtols, the lieutenant's horſe happened to be killed. The Scotchman very generouſly diſmounted, and engaged him with his ſword, and

fairly maſtered him and carried him away priſoner: and I think this horſe was all the blood that was ſhed in that war.

Lieutenant Engliſh, for that was his name, as he was a true ſoldier, the diſgrace of it preyed greatly on his mind: though the Scotchman was extremely generous, for he treated him in the camp very courteouſly, gave him another horſe, and ſet him at liberty, yet the man laid it ſo to heart, that he never would appear again in the army, but went home to his own country, and died ſoon after.

I had enough of party-making, and was quite ſick with indignation at the cowardice of the men, and my lord was much diſpleaſed at it, but there was no remedy: we durſt not go about to retreat, for we ſhould have been in ſuch confuſion that the enemy muſt have diſcovered it; ſo my lord reſolved to keep the poſt, if poſſible, and ſend to the king for ſome foot.

Then were our men ready to fight with one another who ſhould be the meſſenger; and at laſt, when a lieutenant with twenty dragoons was diſpatched, he told us afterwards he found himſelf a hundred ſtrong before he had got a mile from the place.

In ſhort, as ſoon as ever the day declined, and the duſk of the evening began to ſhelter the deſigns of the men, they dropped away from us one by one; and at laſt in ſuch numbers, that if we

had ſtaid till the morning, we ſhould not have had fifty men left out of twelve hundred horſe and dragoons.

When I ſaw how it was, conſulting with ſome of the officers, we all went to my lord Holland, and preſſed him to retreat before the enemy ſhould diſcern the flight of our men; upon this he drew us off, and we came to the camp the next morning in the ſhamefulleſt condition that ever poor men could do; and this was the end of the worſt expedition that ever I made in my life.

To fight and be beaten is an event common to a ſoldier, and I have ſince had enough of it; but to run away at the ſight of an enemy, and neither ſtrike nor be ſtricken, this is the very ſhame of the profeſſion, and no man that has done it ought to ſhew his face again in the field, unleſs diſadvantages of place or number make it tolerable, neither of which was our caſe.

My lord Holland made another march a few days after, in hopes to retrieve this miſcarriage; but I had enough of it, ſo I kept in my quarters; and though his men did not again deſert him as above, yet upon the appearance of the enemy they did not think fit to fight, and came off with but little more honour than they did before.

There was no need to go out to ſeek the enemy after this; for they came, as I have ſaid, and pitched in ſight of us, and their parties came up

every day to the very outworks of Berwick, but no body cared to meddle with them; and in this poſture things ſtood when the pacification was agreed on by both parties, which, like a ſhort truce, only gave both ſides breath to prepare for a new war, more ridiculouſly managed than the former.

When the treaty was ſo near a concluſion as that converſation was admitted on both ſides, I went over to the Scotch camp to ſatisfy my curioſity, as many of our Engliſh officers did alſo.

I confeſs the ſoldiers made a very uncouth figure, eſpecially the Highlanders: the oddneſs and barbarity of their garb and arms ſeemed to have ſomething in them remarkable.

They were generally tall, robuſt fellows; their ſwords were extravagantly, and I think inſignificantly, broad, and they carried great wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper part of their bodies: their dreſs was as antique as the reſt — a cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet; long hanging ſleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches, and ſtockings, of a ſtuff they called plaid, ſtriped acroſs red and yellow; with ſhort clokes of the ſame. Theſe fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of merry Andrews ready for Bartholomew fair.

They are in companies all of a name, and therefore call one another only by their Chriſtian names,

as Jemmy, for James; Jockey, for John; and Sawny, for Alexander; and the like: and they ſcorn to be commanded but by one of their own clan or family. They are all gentlemen, and proud enough to be kings. The meaneſt fellow among them is as tenacious of his honour as the beſt nobleman in the country; and they will fight and cut one another's throats for every trifling affront.

But to their own clans or lairds they are the willingeſt and moſt obedient fellows in nature. Give them their due, were their ſkill in exerciſes and diſcipline proportioned to their courage, they would make the braveſt ſoldiers in the world.

They are large bodies, and prodigiouſly ſtrong; and two qualities they have above other nations — willing to endure hunger, cold, and hardſhips, and wonderfully ſwift of foot. The latter is ſuch an advantage in the field, that I know none like it; for if they conquer, no enemy can eſcape them; and if they run, even the horſe can hardly overtake them. Theſe were ſome of thoſe who, as I obſerved before, went out in parties with their horſe.

There were three or four thouſand of theſe in the Scots army, armed only with ſwords and targets; and in their belts ſome of them had a piſtol, but no muſquets at that time among them.

But there were alſo a great many regiments of diſciplined men, who, by their carrying their arms,

looked as if they underſtood their buſineſs, and, by their faces, that they durſt ſee an enemy.

I had not been half an hour in their camp, after the ceremony of giving our names, and paſſing their out-guards and main guard was over, but I was ſaluted by ſeveral of my acquaintance; and in particular, by one who led the Scotch volunteers at the taking the caſtle of Openheim, of which I have given an account. They uſed me with all the reſpect they thought due to me, on account of old affairs, gave me the word, and a ſerjeant waited upon me whenever I pleaſed to go abroad.

I continued twelve or fourteen days among them, till the pacification was concluded; and they were ordered to march home. They ſpoke very reſpectfully of the king, but I found were exaſperated to the laſt degree at archbiſhop Laud and the Engliſh biſhops for endeavouring to impoſe the Common-Prayer Book upon them; and they always talked with the utmoſt contempt of our ſoldiers and army. I ever waved the diſcourſe about the clergy, and the occaſion of the war; but I could not but be too ſenſible what they ſaid of our men was true; and by this I perceived they had an univerſal intelligence from among us, both of what we were doing, and what ſort of people we were that were doing it; and they were mighty deſirous of coming to blows with us.

I had an invitation from their general, but I declined it, leſt I ſhould give offence. I found they accepted the pacification as a thing not likely to hold, or that they did not deſign it ſhould; and that they were reſolved to keep their forces on foot, notwithſtanding the agreement. Their whole army was full of brave officers, men of much experience and conduct; and all men who know any thing of war, know good officers make a good army.

Things being thus huddled up, the Engliſh came back to York, where the army ſeparated, and the Scots went home to increaſe theirs; for I eaſily foreſaw that peace was the fartheſt thing from their thoughts.

The next year the flame broke out again: the king drew his forces down into the north as before, and expreſſes were ſent to all the gentlemen that had commanded to be at the place by the 15th of July. As I had accepted of no command in the army, ſo I had no inclination at all to go; for I foreſaw there would be nothing but diſgrace attend it.

My father obſerving ſuch an alteration in my uſual forwardneſs, aſked me one day what was the matter that I, who uſed to be ſo forward to go into the army, and ſo eager to run abroad to fight, now ſhewed no inclination to appear when the ſervice of the king and country called me to it?

I replied, I had as much zeal as ever for the king's ſervice, and for the country too; but he knew a ſoldier could not abide to be beaten: and being from thence a little more inquiſitive, I told him the obſervations I had made in the Scots army, and the people I had converſed with there; and I added, "Sir, aſſure yourſelf, if the king offers to "fight them, he will be beaten; and I do not love "to engage when my judgement tells me before-"hand I ſhall be worſted."

And as I had foreſeen it came to paſs; for the Scots, reſolving to proceed, never ſtood upon the ceremony of aggreſſion as before, but, on the 20th of Auguſt, they entered England with their army.

However, as my father deſired, I went to the king's army, which was then at York, but had not got altogether, the king himſelf being at London; but upon this news took poſt for the army, and advancing a part of his forces, he appointed the lord Conway and Sir Jacob Aſtley, with a brigade of foot and ſome horſe, at Newborn upon the river Tyne, to keep the Scots from paſſing that river.

The Scots could have paſſed the Tyne without fighting; but to let us ſee that they were able to force their paſſage, they fell upon this body of men, and, notwithſtanding all the advantages of the place, they beat them from the poſt, took their

baggage and two pieces of cannon, with ſome priſoners.

Sir Jacob Aſtley made what reſiſtance he could; but the Scots charged with ſo much fury, and Sir Jacob being overpowered, he was ſoon put into confuſion. Immediately the Scots made themſelves maſters of Newcaſtle, and the next day of Durham, and laid thoſe two counties under intolerable contributions.

Now was the king abſolutely ruined; for among his own people the diſcontents before were ſo plain, that, had the clergy had any forecaſt, they would never have embroiled him with the Scots till he had fully brought matters to an underſtanding at home: but the caſe was thus:

The king, by the good huſbandry of biſhop Juxon, his treaſurer, had a million of ready money in his treaſury, and, upon that account, having no need of a parliament, had not called one in twelve years, and perhaps had never called another, if he had not, by this unhappy circumſtance, been reduced to an extremity; for now the above money was ſpent in two fooliſh expeditions, and his army appeared in a condition not fit to engage the Scots. The detachment under Sir Jacob Aſtley, which were of the flower of his men, had been routed at Newborn, and the enemy had poſſeſſion of two entire counties.

Archbiſhop Laud was univerſally blamed for prompting the king to provoke the Scots, a headſtrong nation, and zealous for their own way of worſhip; and Laud himſelf found too late the conſequences of it, both to the whole cauſe and to himſelf; for the Scots, whoſe native temper is not eaſily to forgive an injury, purſued him, by their party in England, and never gave it over till they laid his head on the block.

The ruined country now clamoured in his majeſty's ears with daily petitions, and the gentry of other neighbouring counties cried out for peace and a parliament. The king, embarraſſed with theſe difficulties, and quite empty of money, called a great council of the nobility at York, and demanded their advice, which any one could have told him before would be to call a parliament.

I cannot, without regret, look back upon the misfortune of the king, who, as he was one of the beſt princes in his perſonal conduct, had yet ſome of the greateſt unhappineſſes in his conduct, as a king, that ever prince had, and the whole courſe of his life demonſtrated it.

1. Impolitic honeſty. His enemies called it obſtinacy: but as I was perfectly acquainted with his temper, I cannot but think it was his judgement, when he thought he was in the right, to adhere to it as a duty, though againſt his intereſt.

2. Too much compliance when he was complying.

No man but himſelf would have denied what at ſometimes he denied, and have granted what at other times he granted; and this uncertainty of counſel proceeded from two cauſes:

1. The heat of the clergy, to whom he was exceedingly devoted, and for whom indeed he ruined himſelf.

2. The wiſdom of his nobility.

Thus, when the counſel of his biſhops prevailed, all was fire and fury: the Scots were rebels, and muſt be ſubdued; and the parliament's demands were to be rejected as exorbitant.

But whenever the king's judgement was led by the grave and ſteady advice of his nobility and counſellors, he was always inclined by them to temperate his meaſures between the two extremes: and had he gone on in ſuch a temper, he had never met with the misfortunes which afterward attended him, or had ſo many thouſands of his friends loſt their lives and fortunes in his ſervice.

I am ſure we that knew what it was to fight for him, and that loved him better than any of the clergy could pretend to, have had many a conſultation how to bring over our maſter from ſo eſpouſing their intereſt as to ruin himſelf for it; but it was in vain.

I took this interval, when I ſat ſtill and only looked on, to make theſe remarks, becauſe I remember the beſt friends the king had were at this time of that opinion. That it was an unaccountable piece of indiſcretion to commence a quarrel with the Scots, a poor and obſtinate people, for a ceremony and a book of church diſcipline, at a time when the king ſtood but upon indifferent terms with his people at home.

The conſequence was, it put arms into the hands of his ſubjects to rebel againſt him: it embroiled him with his parliament in England, to whom he was fain to ſtoop in a fatal and unuſual manner to get money, all his own being ſpent, and ſo to buy off the Scots, whom he could not beat off.

I cannot but give one inſtance of the unaccountable politics of his miniſters. If they over-ruled this unhappy king to it, with deſign to exhauſt and impoveriſh him, they were the worſt of traitors; if not, the groſſeſt of fools.

They prompted the king to equip a fleet againſt the Scots, and to put on board it five thouſand landmen. Had this been all, the deſign had been good, that while the king had faced the army upon the borders, theſe five thouſand landing in the frith of Edinburgh might have put that whole nation into confuſion. But, in order to this, they adviſe the king to lay out his money in fitting out the

biggeſt ſhips he had, and the Royal Sovereign, the largeſt ſhip the world had then ever ſeen, which coſt him no leſs than one hundred thouſand pounds, was now built, fitted out for this voyage.

This was the moſt incongruous and ridiculous advice that could be given, and made us all believe we were betrayed, though we knew not by whom.

To fit out ſhips of one hundred guns to invade Scotland, which had not one man of war in the world, nor any open confederacy with any prince or ſtate that had any fleet, it was a moſt ridiculous thing. A hundred ſail of Newcaſtle colliers to carry the men, with their ſtores and proviſions, and ten frigates of forty guns each, had been as good a fleet as reaſon and the nature of the thing could have made tolerable.

Thus things were carried on, until the king, reduced by the miſmanagement of his counſels, and beaten by the Scots, was driven to the neceſſity of calling a parliament in England.

It is not my deſign to enter into the feuds and wrangles of this parliament. I have noted, by obſervations of their miſtakes, who brought the king to this unhappy neceſſity of calling them.

His majeſty had tried parliaments upon ſeveral occaſions before, but never found himſelf ſo much embroiled with them but he could ſend them home,

and there was an end of it; but as he could not avoid calling theſe, ſo they took care to put him out of a condition to diſmiſs them.

The Scots army was now quartered upon the Engliſh. The counties, the gentry, and the aſſembly of lords at York, petitioned for a parliament.

The Scots preſented their demands to the king, in which it was obſerved that matters were concerted between them and a party in England; and I confeſs, when I ſaw that, I began to think the king in an ill caſe.

For as the Scots pretended grievances, we thought, the king redreſſing thoſe grievances, they could aſk no more; and therefore all men adviſed the king to grant their full demands. And whereas the king had not money to ſupply the Scots in their march home, I know there were ſeveral meetings of gentlemen with a deſign to advance conſiderable ſums of money to the king to ſet him free, and in order to reinſtate his majeſty as before.

Not that we ever adviſed the king to rule without a parliament, but we were very deſirous of putting him out of the neceſſity of calling them, at leaſt, juſt then.

But the eighth article of the Scots demands expreſsly required that an Engliſh parliament might be called to remove all obſtructions of commerce,

and to ſettle peace, religion, and liberty; and in another article they tell the king, the 24th of September, being the time his majeſty appointed for the meeting of the peers, will make it too long ere the parliament meet.

And in another, that a parliament was the only way of ſettling peace, and bringing them to his majeſty's obedience.

When we ſaw this in the army, it was time to look about. Every body perceived that the Scots army would call an Engliſh parliament; and whatever averſion the king had to it, we ſaw he would be obliged to comply with it; and now they began to ſee their error who adviſed the king to this Scotch war.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the aſſembly of the peers met at York, and by their advice a treaty was begun with the Scots. I had the honour to be ſent with the firſt meſſage, which was in writing.

I brought it, attended with a trumpet and a guard of five hundred horſe, to the Scots quarters. I was ſtopped at Darlington, and my errand being known, general Leſly ſent a Scots major and fifty horſe to receive me, but would let neither my trumpet nor guard ſet foot within their quarters.

In this manner I was conducted to audience in the chapter houſe at Durham, where a committee

of Scots lords, who attended the army, received me very courteouſly, and gave me their anſwer in writing alſo.

It was in this anſwer that they ſhewed, at leaſt to me, their deſign of embroiling the king with his Engliſh ſubjects: they diſcourſed very freely with me, and did not order me to withdraw when they debated their private opinions: they drew up ſeveral anſwers, but did not like them; at laſt they offered me one, which I did not receive—I thought it was too inſolent to be borne with: as near as I can remember it was thus:

"The commiſſioners of Scotland, attending the "ſervice in the army, do refuſe any treaty in the "city of York."

One of the commiſſioners, who treated me with more diſtinction than the reſt, gave me an opportunity, by the kindneſs of his diſcourſe, to ſpeak more freely of this than I expected.

I told them, if they would return to his majeſty an anſwer fit for me to carry, or if they would ſay they would not treat at all, I would deliver ſuch a meſſage.

I then beſeeched them to conſider the anſwer was to their ſovereign, and to whom they made a great profeſſion of duty and reſpect; and at leaſt they ought to give their reaſons why they declined a treaty at York; and to name ſome other place, or

to desire his majesty to name some other: but to send word they would not treat at York, I could deliver no such message, for, when fully considered, it would signify they would not treat at all.

I used a great many reasons and arguments with them on this head; and at last, with some difficulty, obtained of them to give the reason, which was, the earl of Strafford's having the chief command at York, whom they denounced their mortal enemy, he having declared them rebels in Ireland.

With this answer I returned. I could make no observation in the short time I was with them; for as I staid but one night, so I was guarded as a close prisoner all the while. I saw several of their officers whom I knew, but they durst not speak to me; and if they would have ventured, my guard would not have permitted them.

In this manner I was conducted out of their quarters to my own party again; and having delivered my message to the king, and told his majesty the circumstances, I saw the king receive the account of the haughty behaviour of the Scots with some regret: however, it was his majesty's time now to bear, and therefore the Scots were complied with, and the treaty appointed at Rippon, where, after much debate, several preliminary articles were agreed on, as a cessation of arms,

quarters and bounds to the armies, ſubſiſtence to the Scots army; and the reſidue of the demands was referred to a treaty at London.

We were all amazed at the treaty, and I cannot but remember we uſed to wiſh much rather we had been ſuffered to fight; for, though we had been worſted at firſt, the power and ſtrength of the king's intereſt, which was not yet tried, muſt, in the end, have been too ſtrong for the Scots; whereas now we ſaw the king was for complying with any thing, and all his friends would be ruined.

I confeſs I had nothing to fear, and ſo was not much concerned; but our predictions ſoon came to paſs: for no ſooner was this parliament called, but abundance of thoſe who had embroiled their king with his people of both kingdoms, like the Diſciples, when their maſter was betrayed to the Jews, forſook him and fled.

And now parliament tyranny began to ſucceed church tyranny, and we ſoldiers were glad to ſee it at firſt. The biſhops trembled; the judges went to jail; the officers of the cuſtoms were laid hold on; and the parliament began to lay their fingers on the great ones, particularly archbiſhop Laud and the earl of Strafford.

We had no great concern for the firſt; but the laſt was a man of ſo much conduct and gallantry, and ſo beloved by the ſoldiers and principal gentry

of England, that every body was touched with his misfortune.

The parliament now grew mad in their turn; and as the proſperity of any party is the time to ſhew their diſcretion, the parliament ſhewed they knew as little where to ſtop as other people. The king was not in a condition to deny any thing, and, ſhortly after, whatever was demanded was complied with.

They attainted the earl of Strafford, and, metaphorically, made the king cut off his right hand to ſave his left, and yet not ſave it neither: they obtained another bill, to empower them to ſit during their own pleaſure, and after them triennial parliaments to meet, whether the king call them or not; and granting this completed his majeſty's ruin.

Had the houſe only regulated the abuſes of the court, puniſhed evil counſellors, and reſtored parliaments to their original and juſt powers, all had been well, and the king, though he had been more than mortified, had yet reaped the benefit of future peace; for now the Scots were ſent home, after having eaten up two counties, and received a prodigious ſum of money to boot: and the king, though too late, went in perſon to Edinburgh, and granted them all they could deſire, and more than they aſked; but in England the deſires were unbounded, and drove at all extremes.

They threw out the biſhops from ſitting in the houſe, made a proteſtation equivalent to the Scotch covenant; and, this done, printed their remonſtrance. This ſo provoked the king, that he reſolved upon ſeizing five of the members *, and in an ill hour entered the Houſe of Commons in perſon to take them. Thus one imprudent thing on one hand produced another on the other hand, until the king was obliged to leave them to themſelves, for fear of receiving treatment unworthy of himſelf.

Theſe proceedings began to alarm the gentry and nobility of England; for however willing we were to have evil counſellors removed, and the government return to a ſettled and legal courſe, according to the happy conſtitution of this nation, and might have been forward enough to have owned the king had been miſled and impoſed upon to do things which he had rather had not been done, yet it did not follow that all the powers and prerogatives of the crown ſhould devolve upon the parliament, and the king, in a manner, be depoſed, or elſe ſacrificed to the fury of the rabble.

The heats of the houſe running them thus to all extremes, and at laſt to take from the king the power of the militia, which indeed was all that

* Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haſlerig, John Pym, John Hampden, and William Stroud.

was left to make him any thing of a king, put him upon oppoſing force with force; and thus the flame of civil war began.

However backward I was in engaging in the ſecond year's expedition againſt the Scots, I was as forward now; for I waited on the king at York, where a gallant company of gentlemen as ever were ſeen in England engaged themſelves to enter into his ſervice; and here ſome of us formed ourſelves into troops for the guard of his perſon.

The king having been waited upon by the gentry of Yorkſhire, and having told them his reſolution of erecting his royal ſtandard, and received from them hearty aſſurances of ſupport, diſmiſſed them, and marched to Hull, where lay the train of artillery, and all the arms and ammunition belonging to the northern army which had been diſbanded.

But here the parliament had been beforehand with his majeſty; ſo that when he came to Hull he found the gates ſhut, and Sir John Hotham, the governor upon the walls, though with a great deal of ſeeming humility and proteſtations of loyalty to his perſon, yet with a poſitive denial to admit any of the king's attendants into the town.

If his majeſty pleaſed to enter the town in perſon, with any reaſonable number of his houſehold, he would ſubmit, but could not be prevailed on to receive the king, as he would be received, with

his forces, though thoſe forces were then but very few.

The king was exceedingly provoked at this repulſe, and indeed it was a great ſurpriſe to us all; for certainly never prince began a war againſt the whole ſtrength of his kingdom under the circumſtances that he was in. He had not a garriſon, or a company of ſoldiers in his pay; not a ſtand of arms, or a barrel of powder, a muſquet, cannon, or mortar; not a ſhip of all the fleet, or money in his treaſury to procure them: whereas the parliament had all his navy and ordnance, ſtores, magazines, arms, ammunition, and revenue, in their keeping.

And this I take to be another defect of the king's counſel, and a ſad inſtance of the diſtraction of his affairs, that when he ſaw how all things were going to wreck, as it was impoſſible but he ſhould ſee it, and it is plain he did ſee it, that he ſhould not, long enough before it came to extremities, ſecure the navy, magazines, and ſtores of war, in the hands of his truſty ſervants, that would have been ſure to have preſerved them for his uſe at a time when he wanted them.

It cannot be ſuppoſed but the gentry of England, who generally preſerved their loyalty for their royal maſter, and at laſt heartily ſhewed it, were exceedingly diſcouraged at firſt, when they ſaw the parliament had all the means of making

war in their own hands, and the king was naked and deſtitute either of arms or ammunition, or money to procure them.

Not but that the king, by extraordinary application, recovered the diſorder the want of theſe things had thrown him into, and ſupplied himſelf with all things needful.

But my obſervation was this — had his majeſty had the magazines, navy, and forts, in his own hand, the gentry, who wanted but the proſpect of ſomething to encourage them, had come in at firſt, and the parliament, being unprovided, would have been preſently reduced to reaſon.

But this was it that hindered the gentry of Yorkſhire, who went home again, giving the king good promiſes, but never appeared for him till, by raiſing a good army in Shropſhire and Wales, he marched towards London, and they ſaw there was a proſpect of their being ſupported.

In this condition the king erected his ſtandard at Nottingham, Auguſt 22d, 1642; and I confeſs I had very melancholy apprehenſions of the king's affairs, for the appearance to the royal ſtandard was but ſmall. The affront the king had met with at Hull had diſpirited the northern gentry, and the king's affairs looked with a very diſmal aſpect.

We had expreſſes from London of the prodigious ſucceſs of the parliament's levies, how their men came in faſter than they could entertain them,

and that arms were delivered out to whole companies liſted together; and all this while the king had not got together a thouſand foot, and had no arms for them neither.

When the king ſaw this, he immediately diſpatched five ſeveral meſſengers, whereof one went to the marquis of Worceſter into Wales; one to the queen, then at Windſor; one to the duke of Newcaſtle, then earl of Newcaſtle, into the north; one into Scotland, and one into France, where the queen ſoon after arrived to raiſe money and buy arms, and to get what aſſiſtance ſhe could among her own friends.

Nor was her majeſty idle, for ſhe ſent over ſeveral ſhips laden with arms and ammunition, with a fine train of artillery, and a great many very good officers; and though one of the firſt fell into the hands of the parliament, with three hundred barrels of powder and ſome arms, and one hundred and fifty gentlemen, yet moſt of the gentlemen found means to get to us, and moſt of the ſhips the queen freighted arrived; and at laſt her majeſty came herſelf, and brought an extraordinary ſupply of men, money, and arms, with which ſhe joined the king's forces, under the earl of Newcaſtle, in the north.

Finding his majeſty active to muſter his friends together, I aſked him if he thought it might not be for his majeſty's ſervice to let me go among

my friends, and his loyal ſubjects about Shrewſbury?

"Yes," ſaid the king, ſmiling, "I intend you "ſhall, Cavalier, and I deſign to go with you "myſelf."

I did not underſtand what the king meant then, and did not think it good manners to inquire; but the next day I found all things diſpoſed for a march, and the king on horſeback by eight in the morning; when, calling me to him, he told me I ſhould go before, and let my father and all my friends know he would be at Shrewſbury the Saturday following.

I left my equipages, and, taking poſt with only one ſervant, was at my father's the next morning by break of day. My father was not ſurpriſed at the news of the king's coming; for, it ſeems, he, together with the loyal gentry of thoſe parts, had ſent particularly to give the king an invitation to move that way, which I was not made privy to, with an account what encouragement they had there in the endeavours made for his intereſt.

In ſhort, the whole country was entirely for the king; and ſuch was the univerſal joy the people ſhewed when the news of his majeſty's coming down was poſitively known, that all manner of buſineſs was laid aſide, and the whole body of the people ſeemed to be reſolved upon the war.

As this gave a new face to the king's affairs, ſo

I muſt own it filled me with joy; for I was aſtoniſhed before, when I conſidered what the king and his friends were like to be expoſed to. The news of the proceedings of the parliament, and their powerful preparations, were now no more terrible. The king came at the time appointed, and having lain at my father's houſe one night, entered Shrewſbury in the morning.

The acclamations of the people, the concourſe of the nobility and gentry about his perſon, and the crowds which now came every day in to his ſtandard, were incredible.

The loyalty of the Engliſh gentry was not only worthy notice, but their power alſo was extraordinary viſible; for the king, in about ſix weeks, which was the moſt of his ſtay at Shrewſbury, was ſupplied with money, arms, ammunition, and a train of artillery, and had enliſted an army of upwards of twenty thouſand men.

His majeſty, ſeeing the general alacrity of his people, immediately iſſued out commiſſions, and formed regiments of horſe and foot; and having ſome experienced officers about him, together with about ſixteen who came from France with a ſhip loaded with arms and ſome field pieces, which came very ſeaſonably into the Severn, the men were exerciſed, regularly diſciplined, and quartered; and now we began to look like ſoldiers.

My father had raiſed a regiment of horſe at his

own charge, and the king gave out arms to them from the ſupplies which I mentioned came from abroad. Another party of horſe, all brave ſtout fellows, and well mounted, came in from Lancaſhire, and the earl of Derby at the head of them.

The Welchmen came in by droves; and ſo great was the concourſe of people, that the king began to think of marching, and gave the command, as well as the truſt of regulating the army, to the earl of Lindſey, as general of the foot.

The parliament general being the earl of Eſſex, two braver men, or two better officers, were not in the kingdom: they had both been old ſoldiers, and had ſerved together as volunteers, in the Low-country wars, under prince Maurice. They had been comrades and companions abroad, and now came to face one another, as enemies, in the field at home.

Such was the expedition uſed by the king and his friends in the levies of this firſt army, that, notwithſtanding the wonderful expedition the parliament made, the king was in the field before them; and now the gentry in other parts of the nation beſtirred themſelves, and ſeized upon and garriſoned ſeveral conſiderable places for the king.

In the north, the earl of Newcaſtle not only garriſoned the moſt conſiderable places, but even the general poſſeſſion of the north was for the king, excepting Hull, and ſome few places which the

old lord Fairfax had taken up for the parliament. On the other hand, entire Cornwall and moſt of weſtern counties were the king's. The parliament had their chief intereſt in the ſouth and eaſtern part of England, as Kent, Surrey, and Suſſex, Eſſex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Huntingdon, Hertford, Buckinghamſhire, and the other midland counties.

Theſe were called, or ſome of them at leaſt, the aſſociated counties, and felt little of the war, other than the charges; but the main ſupport of the parliament was the city of London. The king made the ſeat of his court at Oxford, which he cauſed to be regularly fortified. The lord Say had been here, and had poſſeſſion of the city for the enemy, and was debating about fortifying it, but came to no reſolution, which was a very great overſight in them, the ſituation of the place, and the importance of it, on many accounts, to the city of London conſidered; and they would have retrieved this error afterwards, but then it was too late, for the king made it the head quarter, and received great ſupplies and aſſiſtance from the wealth of the colleges and the plenty of the neighbouring country.

Abingdon, Wallingford, Baſingſtoke, and Reading, were all garriſoned and fortified as outworks to defend this as the center: and thus all England became the theatre of blood, and war was ſpread

into every corner of the country, though as yet there was not a ſtroke ſtruck.

I had no command in this army: my father led his own regiment, and, old as he was, would not leave his royal maſter; and my elder brother ſtaid at home to ſupport the family. As for me, I rode a volunteer in the royal troop of guards, which may very well deſerve the title of a royal troop, for it was compoſed of young gentlemen, ſons of the nobility and ſome of the prime gentry of the nation, and I think not a perſon of ſo mean a birth or fortune as myſelf.

We reckoned in this troop two-and-thirty lords, or who came afterwards to be ſuch, and eight and thirty of younger ſons of the nobility, five French noblemen, and all the reſt gentlemen of very good families and eſtates.

And that I may give the due to their perſonal valour, many of this troop lived afterwards to have regiments and troops under their command in the ſervice of the king; many of them loſt their lives for him, and moſt of them their eſtates: nor did they behave unworthy of themſelves in their firſt ſhewing their faces to the enemy, as ſhall be mentioned in its place.

While the king remained at Shrewſbury his loyal friends beſtirred themſelves in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. Goring had ſecured Portſmouth; but being young in matters of war, and not in time

relieved, though the marquis of Hertford was marching ro relieve him, yet he was obliged to quit the place, and ſhipped himſelf for Holland, from whence he returned with relief for the king, and afterwards did very good ſervice upon all occaſions, and ſo effectually cleared himſelf of the ſcandal the haſty ſurrender of Portſmouth had brought upon his courage.

The chief power of the king's forces lay in three places—in Cornwall, in Yorkſhire, and at Shrewſbury. In Cornwall, Sir Ralph Hopton, afterwards lord Hopton, Sir Bevil Granvil, and Sir Nicholas Slamming, ſecured all the country, and afterwards ſpread themſelves over Devonſhire and Somerſetſhire, took Exeter from the parliament, fortified Bridgwater and Barnſtaple, and beat Sir William Waller at the battle of Roundway Down, as I ſhall mention more particularly when I come to recite the part of my own travels that way.

In the north, the marquis of Newcaſtle ſecured all the country, garriſoned York, Scarborough, Carliſle, Newcaſtle, Pomfret, Leeds, and all the conſiderable places, and took the field with a very good army, though afterwards he proved more unſucceſsful than the reſt, having the whole power of a kingdom at his back, the Scots coming in with an army to the aſſiſtance of the parliament, which indeed was the general turn of the ſcale of the war; for, had it not been for this Scots army,

the king had moſt certainly reduced the parliament, at leaſt to good terms of peace, in two years time.

The king's force at Shrewſbury I have related already: the alacrity of the gentry filled him with hopes, and all his army with vigour, and the 8th of October, 1642, his majeſty gave orders to march. The earl of Eſſex had ſpent above a month after his leaving London (for he went thence the 9th of September) in modelling and drawing together his forces: his rendezvous was at St. Alban's, from whence he marched to Northampton, Coventry, and Warwick, and leaving garriſons in them, he came on to Worceſter.

Being thus advanced, he poſſeſſed Oxford, as I noted before, Banbury, Briſtol, Glouceſter, and Worceſter, out of all which places, except Glouceſter, we drove him back to London in a very little while.

Sir John Biron had raiſed a very good party of five hundred horſe, moſt gentlemen, for the king, and had poſſeſſed Oxford; but on the approach of the lord Say quitted it, being now but an open town, and retreated to Worceſter; from whence, on the approach of Eſſex's army, he retreated to the king.

And now all things grew ripe for action, both parties having ſecured their poſts, and ſettled their ſchemes of the war, taking their poſts and places as their meaſures and opportunities directed. Th

field was next in their eye, and the ſoldiers began to inquire when they ſhould fight, for as yet there had been little ot no blood drawn, and it was not long before they had enough of it; for I believe I may challenge all the hiſtorians in Europe to tell me of any war in the world where, in the ſpace of four years, there were ſo many pitched battles, ſieges, fights, and ſkirmiſhes, as in this war.

We never encamped or entrenched, never fortified the avenues to our poſts, or lay fenced with rivers and defiles. Here were no leaguers in the field, as at the ſtory of Nurenburg; neither had our ſoldiers any tents, or what they call heavy baggage. It was the general maxim of this war, Where is the enemy? Let us go and fight them: or, on the other hand, if the enemy was coming, What was to be done? Why, what ſhould be done? Draw out into the field and fight them.

I cannot ſay it was the prudence of the parties, and had the king fought leſs he had gained more; and I ſhall remark ſeveral times when the eagerneſs of fighting was the worſt counſel, and proved our loſs. This benefit, however, happened in general to the country, that it made a quick, though a bloody, end of the war, which otherwiſe had laſted till it might have ruined the whole nation.

On the 10th of October the king's army was in full march; his majeſty, generaliſſimo; the earl of Lindſey, general of the foot; prince Rupert, ge-

neral of the horſe; and the firſt action in the field was by prince Rupert and Sir John Biron. Sir John had brought his body of five hundred horſe, as I have ſaid, from Oxford to Worceſter; the lord Say, with a ſtrong party, being in the neighbourhood of Oxford, and expected in the town, colonel Sandys, a hot man, and who had more courage than judgement, advanced with fifteen hundred horſe and dragoons, with deſign to beat Sir John Biron out of Worceſter, and took poſt there for the parliament.

The king had notice that the earl of Eſſex deſigned for Worceſter, and prince Rupert was ordered to advance with a body of horſe and dragoons to face the enemy, and bring off Sir John Biron. This his majeſty did to amuſe the earl of Eſſex, that he might expect him that way; whereas the king's deſign was to get between the earl of Eſſex's army and the city of London, and his majeſty's end was doubly anſwered, for he not only drew Eſſex on to Worceſter, where he ſpent more time than he needed, but he beat the party into the bargain.

I went volunteer in this party, and rid in my father's regiment; for though we really expected not to ſee the enemy, yet I was tired with lying ſtill. We came to Worceſter juſt as notice was brought to Sir John Biron that a party of the enemy was on their march for Worceſter; upon

which the prince, immediately conſulting what was to be done, reſolved to march the next morning and fight them.

The enemy, who lay at Perſhore, about eight miles from Worceſter, and, as I believe, had no notice of our march, came on very confidently in the morning, and found us ready drawn up to receive them. I muſt confeſs this was the bluntest, downright way of making war that ever was ſeen.

The enemy, who, in all the little knowledge I had of war, ought to have diſcovered our numbers, and gueſſed by our poſture what our deſign was, might eaſily have informed themſelves that we intended to attack them, and ſo might have ſecured the advantage of a bridge in their front; but, without any regard to theſe methods of policy, they came on at all hazards.

Upon this notice my father propoſed to the prince to halt for them, and ſuffer ourſelves to be attacked, ſince we found them willing to give us the advantage. The prince approved of the advice; ſo we halted within view of a bridge, leaveing ſpace enough on our front for about half the number of their force to paſs and draw up; and at the bridge was poſted about fifty dragoons, with orders to retire as ſoon as the enemy advanced, as if they had been afraid.

On the right of the road was a ditch, and a very high bank behind, where we had placed three

hundred dragoons, with orders to lye flat on their faces till the enemy had paſſed the bridge, and to let fly among them as ſoon as our trumpets ſounded a charge.

Nobody but colonel Sandys would have been caught in ſuch a ſnare; for he might eaſily have ſeen that when he was over the bridge there was not room enough for him to fight in; but the Lord of Hoſts was ſo much in their mouths, (for that was the word for that day) that they took little heed how to conduct the hoſt of the Lord to their own advantage.

As we expected, they appeared, beat our dragoons from the bridge, and paſſed it. We ſtood firm in one line with a reſerve, and expected a charge; but colonel Sandys ſhewing a great deal more judgement than we thought he was maſter of, extended himſelf to the left, finding the ground too ſtraight, and began to form his men with a great deal of readineſs and ſkill; for by this time he ſaw our number was greater than he expected.

The prince perceiving it, and foreſeeing that the ſtratagem of the dragoons would be fruſtrated by this, immediately charges with the horſe, and the dragoons at the ſame time, ſtanding upon their feet, poured in their ſhot upon thoſe that were paſſing the bridge. This ſurpriſe put them into ſuch diſorder, that we had but little work with them; for though colonel Sandys with the troops

next him ſuſtained the ſhock extremely well, and behaved themſelves gallantly, yet the confuſion beginning in their rear, thoſe that had not yet paſſed the bridge were kept back by the fire of the dragoons, and the reſt were eaſily cut to pieces.

Colonel Sandys was mortally wounded and taken priſoner; and the crowd was ſo great to get back, that many puſhed into the water, and were rather ſmothered than drowned. Some of them, who never came into the fight, were ſo frighted, that they never looked behind them until they came to Perſhore; and, as we were afterwards informed, the life-guards of the general, who had quartered in the town, left it in great diſorder, expecting us at the heels of their men.

If our buſineſs had been to keep the parliament army from coming to Worceſter, we had a very good opportunity to have ſecured the bridge at Perſhore; but our deſign lay another way, as I have ſaid, and the king was for drawing Eſſex on to the Severn, in hopes to get behind him, which fell out accordingly.

Eſſex, ſpurred by this affront in the infancy of their affairs, advanced the next day, and came to Perſhore time enough to be at the funeral of ſome of his men, and from thence he advanced to Worceſter.

We marched back to Worceſter extremely pleaſed with the good ſucceſs of our firſt attack; and our

men were ſo fluſhed with this little victory, that it put vigour into the whole army. The enemy loſt about three thouſand men, and we carried away near one hundred and fifty priſoners, with five hundred horſes, ſome ſtandards and arms; and among the priſoners their colonel, but he died a little after of his wounds.

Upon the approach of the enemy Worceſter was quitted, and the forces marched back to join the king's army, which lay then at Bridgnorth, Ludlow, and thereabout. As the king expected, it fell out. Eſſex found ſo much work at Worceſter to ſettle parliament quarters, and ſecure Briſtol, Glouceſter, and Hereford, that it gave the king a full day's march of him; ſo the king having the ſtart of him, moved towards London; and Eſſex, nettled to be both beaten in fight and outdone in conduct, decamped, and followed the king.

The parliament, and the Londoners too, were in a ſtrange conſternation at this miſtake of their general; and had the king, whoſe great misfortune was always to follow precipitant advices, but puſhed on his firſt deſign, which he had formed with very good reaſon, and for which he had been dodging with Eſſex eight or ten days, viz. of marching directly to London, where he had a very great intereſt, and where his friends were not yet oppreſſed and impoveriſhed, as they were afterwards, he had turned the ſcale of his affairs, and

every man expected it; for the members began to ſhift for themſelves; expreſſes were ſent on the heels of one another to the earl of Eſſex to haſten after the king, and, if poſſible, to bring him to a battle. Some of theſe letters fell into our hands, and we might eaſily diſcover that the parliament were in the laſt confuſion at the thoughts of our coming to London. Beſides this, the city was in a worſe fright than the houſe, and the great moving men began to go out of town. In ſhort, they expected us, and we expected to come, but Providence, for our ruin, had otherwiſe determined it.

Eſſex, upon news of the king's march, and upon receipt of the parliament's letters, made long marches after us, and on the 23d of October reached the town of Keynton in Warwickſhire. The king was almoſt as far as Banbury, and there called a council of war. Some of the old officers, that foreſaw the advantage the king had, the concern the city was in, and the vaſt addition both to the reputation of his forces, and the increaſe of his intereſt, it would be, if the king could gain that point, urged the king to march on to London.

Prince Rupert, and the freſh colonels preſſed for fighting, told the king it diſpirited their men to march with the enemy at their heels; that the parliament army was inferior to him by ſix thouſand men, and fatigued with haſty marching; that their orders being to fight, he had nothing to do but to

poſt himſelf to advantage, and receive them to their deſtruction; that the action near Worceſter had let him know how eaſy it was to deal with a raſh enemy; and that it was a diſhonour for him, whoſe forces were ſo much ſuperior, to be purſued by his ſubjects in rebellion.

Theſe and the like arguments prevailed with the king to alter his wiſer meaſures, and reſolve to fight. Nor was this all: when a reſolution of fighting was taken, that part of the advice which they who were for fighting gave, as a reaſon for their opinion, was forgot, and, inſtead of halting, and poſting ourſelves to advantage till the enemy came up, we were ordered to march back and meet them.

Nay, ſo eager was the prince for fighting, that when, from the top of Edgehill, the enemy's army was deſcried in the bottom between them and the town of Keynton, and that the enemy had bid us defiance, by diſcharging three cannons, we accepted the challenge, and anſwering with two ſhot from our army, we muſt needs forſake the advantages of the hills, which they muſt have mounted under the command of our cannon, and march down to them into the plain.

I confeſs I thought here was a great deal more gallantry than diſcretion, for it was plainly taking an advantage out of our own hands, and putting it into the hands of the enemy; for an enemy that

muſt fight may always be fought with to advantage.

My old hero, the glorious Guſtavus Adolphus, was as forward to fight as any man of true valour mixed with any policy need to be, or ought to be. He uſed to ſay, "An enemy, reduced to a neceſ-"ſity of fighting, is half beaten."

It is true we were all but young in the war: the ſoldiers hot and forward, and eagerly deſired to come to hands with the enemy. But I take the more notice of it here, becauſe the king in this acted againſt his own meaſures; for it was the king himſelf had laid the deſign of getting the ſtart of Eſſex, and marching to London.

His friends had invited him thither, and expected him, and ſuffered deeply for the omiſſion, and yet he gave way to theſe haſty counſels, and ſuffered his judgement to be over-ruled by majority of voices — an error, I ſay, the king of Sweden was never guilty of: for if all the officers at a council of war were of a different opinion, yet, unleſs their reaſons maſtered his judgement, their votes never altered his meaſures; but this was the error of our unfortunate maſter three times in this war, and particularly in two of the greateſt battles, this of Edgehill, and that of Naſeby.

The reſolution for fighting being publiſhed in the army, gave an univerſal joy to the ſoldiers, who expreſſed an extraordinary ardour for fighting.

I remember my father, talking with me about it, aſked me what I thought of the approaching battle?

I told him I thought the king had done very well; for at that time I did not conſult the extent of the deſign, and had a mighty mind, like other raſh people, to ſee it brought to a day, which made me anſwer my father, "Sir, I doubt there "will be but indifferent doings on both ſides, "between two armies both made up of freſh men "that have never ſeen any ſervice."

My father minded little what I ſpoke of that; but when I ſeemed pleaſed that the king had reſolved to fight, he looked angrily at me, and ſaid, he was ſorry I could ſee no farther into things.

"I tell you," added he, haſtily, "if the king "ſhould kill and take priſoners this whole army, "general and all, the parliament will have the "victory; for we have loſt more by ſlipping this "opportunity of getting into London than we "ſhall ever get by ten battles."

I ſaw enough of this afterwards to convince me of the weight of what my father ſaid, and ſo did the king too; but it was then too late—advantages ſlipt in war are never recovered.

We were now in a full march to fight the earl of Eſſex. It was on Sunday morning, the 23d of October, 1642, fair weather over head, but the ground very heavy and dirty.

As ſoon as we came to the top of Edgehill we diſcovered their whole army. They were not drawn up, having had two miles to march that morning; but they were very buſy forming their lines, and poſting the regiments as they came up. Some of their horſe were exceedingly fatigued, having marched forty-eight hours together; and had they been ſuffered to follow us three or four days march farther, ſeveral of their regiments of horſe would have been quite ruined, and their foot would have been rendered unſerviceable for the preſent. But we had no patience.

As ſoon as our whole army was come to the top of the hill, we were drawn up in order of battle. The king's army made a very fine appearance; and indeed they were a body of as gallant men as ever appeared in the field, and as well furniſhed at all points: the horſe exceedingly well accoutred, being moſt of them gentlemen and volunteers, ſome whole regiments ſerving without pay; their horſes very good, and as fit for ſervice as could be deſired.

The whole army were not above eighteen thouſand men, and the enemy not one thouſand over or under, though we had been told they were not above twelve thouſand; but they had been reinforced with four thouſand men from Northampton.

The king was with the general, the earl of

Lindſey, in the main battle; prince Rupert commanded the right wing, and the marquis of Hertford, the lord Willoughby, and ſeveral other very good officers, the left.

The ſignal of battle being given with two cannon ſhot, we marched in order of battalia down the hill, being drawn up in two lines with bodies of reſerve: the enemy advanced to meet us much in the ſame form, with this difference only, that they had placed their cannon on their right, and the king had placed ours in the center, before, or rather between, two great brigades of foot.

Their cannon began with us firſt, and did ſome miſchief among the dragoons of our left wing; but our officers perceiving the ſhot took the men, and miſſed the horſes, ordered all to alight, and every man leading his horſe, to advance in the ſame order; and this ſaved our men, for moſt of the enemy's ſhot flew over their heads.

Our cannon made a terrible execution upon their foot for a quarter of an hour, and put them into great confuſion, till the general obliged them to halt, and changed the poſture of his front, marching round a ſmall riſing ground, by which he avoided the fury of our artillery.

By this time the wings were engaged, the king having given the ſignal of battle, and ordered the right wing to fall on. Prince Rupert, who commanded that wing, fell on with ſuch fury, and

puſhed the left wing of the parliament army ſo effectually, that in a moment he filled all with terror and confuſion: commiſſary-general Ramſey, a Scotchman, an experienced officer, commanded their left wing, and though he did all that an expert ſoldier and a brave commander could do, yet it was to no purpoſe; his lines were immediately broken, and all overwhelmed in a trice.

Two regiments of foot, whether as part of the left wing, or on the left of the main body, I know not, were diſordered by their own horſe, and rather trampled to death by the horſes than beaten by our men; but they were ſo entirely broken, that I do not remember that ever they made one volley upon our men; for their own horſe running away, and falling foul on theſe foot, were ſo vigorouſly followed by us, that the foot never had a moment to rally or look behind them.

The point of the left wing of horſe were not ſo ſoon broken as the reſt, and three regiments of them ſtood firm for ſome time: the dexterous officers of the other regiments taking the opportunity, rallied a great many of their ſcattered men behind them, and pieced in ſome troops with thoſe regiments; but after two or three charges which a brigade of our ſecond line, following the prince, made upon them, they alſo were broken with the reſt.

I remember that, at the great battle of Leipſic,

the right wing of the Imperialiſts having fallen in upon the Saxons with like fury to this, bore down all before them, and beat the Saxons quite out of the field; upon which the ſoldiers cried, "Vic-"toria! — Let us follow."

"No, no," ſaid old general Tilly, "let them "go; but let us beat the Swedes too, and then "all is our own."

Had prince Rupert taken this method, and, inſtead of following the fugitives, who were diſperſed ſo effectually that two regiments would have ſecured them from rallying — I ſay, had he fallen in upon the foot, or wheeled to the left, and fallen in upon the rear of the enemy's right wing of horſe, or returned to the aſſiſtance of the left wing of our horſe, we had gained the moſt abſolute and complete victory that could be, nor had a thouſand men of the enemy's army got off.

But this prince, who was full of fire, and pleaſed to ſee the rout of the enemy, purſued them quite to the town of Keynton, where indeed he killed abundance of their men, and ſome time alſo was loſt in plundering the baggage; but in the mean time the glory and advantage of the day was loſt to the king, for the right wing of the parliament horſe could not be ſo broken.

Sir William Balfour made a deſperate charge upon the point of the king's left, and had it not been for two regiments of dragoons, who were

planted in the reſerve, had routed the whole wing; for he broke through the firſt line, and ſtaggered the ſecond, who advanced to their aſſiſtance, but was ſo warmly received by thoſe dragoons, who came ſeaſonably in, and gave their firſt fire on horſeback, that his fury was checked, and having loſt a great many men, was forced to wheel about to his own men; and had the king had but three regiments of horſe at hand to have charged him, Balfour had been routed.

The reſt of this wing kept their ground, and received the firſt fury of the enemy with great firmneſs; after which, advancing in their turn, they were once maſters of the earl of Eſſex's cannon.

And here we loſt another advantage; for if any foot had been at hand to ſupport theſe horſe, they had carried off the cannon, or turned it upon the main body of the enemy's foot; but the foot were otherwiſe engaged. The horſe on this ſide fought with great obſtinacy and variety of ſucceſs a great while.

Sir Philip Stapylton, who commanded the guards of the earl of Eſſex, being engaged with a party of our Shrewſbury cavaliers, as we called them, was once in a fair way to have been cut off by a brigade of our foot, who being advanced to fall on upon the parliament's main body, flanked Sir Philip's horſe in their way, and, facing to the left, ſo furiouſly charged him with their pikes, that he

was obliged to retire in great diſorder, and with the loſs of a great many men and horſes.

All this while the foot on both ſides were deſperately engaged, and, coming cloſe up to the teeth of one another with the clubbed muſquet and puſh of pike, fought with great reſolution, and a terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, giving no quarter for a great while; and they continued to do thus till, as if they were tired and out of wind, each party ſeemed willing enough to leave off and take breath.

Thoſe which ſuffered moſt were that brigade which had charged Sir Philip Stapylton's horſe, who, being bravely engaged in the front with the enemy's foot, were, on the ſudden, charged again in front and flank by Sir William Balfour's horſe and diſordered, after a very deſperate defence.

Here the king's ſtandard was taken, the ſtandard bearer, Sir Edward Varney, being killed; but it was reſcued again by captain Smith, and brought to the king the ſame evening, for which the king knighted the captain.

This brigade of foot had fought all the day, and had not been broken at laſt if any horſe had been at hand to ſupport them. The field began to be now clear: both armies ſtood, as it were, gazing at one another; only the king, having rallied his foot, ſeemed inclined to renew the charge, and began to cannonade them, which they could not return, moſt of their cannon being nailed while

they were in our poſſeſſion, and all the cannoniers killed or fled, and our gunners did execution upon Sir William Balfour's troops for a good while.

My father's regiment being in the right with the prince, I ſaw little of the fight, but the rout of the enemy's left, and we had as full a victory there as we could deſire, but ſpent too much time in it: we killed about two thouſand men in that part of the action, and having totally diſperſed them, and plundered their baggage, began to think of our fellows when it was too late to help them.

We returned, however, victorious to the king juſt as the battle was over; and the king aſked prince Rupert, "What news?"—He told him he could give his majeſty a good account of the enemy's horſe——"Ay, by G-d!" ſaid a gentleman that ſtood by me, "and of their carts too."

Thoſe words were ſpoken with ſuch a ſenſe of the misfortune, and made ſuch an impreſſion in the whole army, that it occaſioned ſome ill blood afterwards among us, and but that the king took up the buſineſs, it had been of ill conſequence; for ſome other perſon, who had heard the gentleman ſpeak it, informed the prince who it was, and the prince, reſenting it, ſpoke ſomething about it in the hearing of the party when the king was preſent.

The gentleman, with a manly freedom, told his

highneſs openly he had ſaid the words, and was ſtill of opinion the enemy's army might have been better beaten.

The prince at this was exceedingly provoked; and as he was very paſſionate, and without all government of himſelf, replied ſomething very diſobliging, attended with a threat.

The gentleman, who was poſſeſſed of as much courage as the prince, but much calmer, preſerved his temper, but maintained his quarrel, came up to the king, and, kneeling, humbly beſought his majeſty to accept of his commiſſion, and to give him leave to tell the prince, that, whenever his highneſs pleaſed, he was ready to give him ſatisfaction.

The king was ſo concerned at this miſunderſtanding between them, that he ſeemingly was very much out of humour with the prince about it. However, his majeſty ſoon ended the diſpute, by laying his commands on them both to ſpeak no more of it; and refuſing the commiſſion from the colonel, for he was no leſs, ſent for them both next morning in private, and made them friends again.

But to return to our ſtory. —— We came back to the king timely enough to put the earl of Eſſex's men out of all humour of renewing the fight; and, as I obſerved before, both parties ſtood gazing at one another, and our cannon playing

upon them, obliged Sir William Balfour's horſe to wheel off in ſome diſorder, but they returned us none again; which, as we afterwards underſtood, was, as I ſaid before, for want of both powder and gunners; for the cannoniers and firemen were killed, or had quitted their train in the fight when our horſe had poſſeſſion of their artillery; and as they had ſpiked up ſome of the cannon, ſo they had carried away fifteen carriages of powder.

Night coming on, ended all diſcourſe of more fighting, and the king drew off and marched towards the hills. I know no other token of victory which the enemy had than their laying in the field of battle all night, which they did for no other reaſon than that, having loſt their baggage and proviſions, they had no where to go, and which we did not, becauſe we had good quarters at hand.

The number of priſoners and of the ſlain were not very unequal: the enemy loſt more men, we moſt of quality. Six thouſand men, on both ſides, were killed on the ſpot, whereof, when our rolls were examined, we miſſed two thouſand five hundred. We loſt our brave general, the old earl of Lindſey, who was wounded and taken priſoner, and died of his wounds; Sir Edward Stradling, colonel Lundsford, priſoners; and Sir Edward Varney, and a great many gentlemen of quality, ſlain.

On the other hand, we carried off colonel Eſſex,

colonel Ramſey, and the lord St. John, who alſo died of his wounds. We took five ammunition waggons, full of powder, and brought off about five hundred horſe in the defeat of the left wing, with eighteen ſtandards and colours, and loſt ſeventeen.

The ſlaughter of the left wing was ſo great, and the flight ſo effectual, that ſeveral of the officers rid clear away, coaſting round, and got to London, where they reported that the parliament army was entirely defeated, all loſt, killed, or taken, as if none but them were left alive to carry the news.

This filled them with conſternation for a while; but when other meſſengers followed, all was reſtored to quiet again, and the parliament cried up their victory, and ſufficiently mocked God and their general with their public thanks for it. Truly, as the flight was a deliverance to them, they were in the right to give thanks for it; but as to its being a victory, neither ſide had much to boaſt of, and they leſs a great deal than we had.

I got no hurt in this battle; and indeed we of the right wing had but little fighting: I think I diſcharged my piſtols but once, and my carbine twice, for we had more fatigue than fight. The enemy fled, and we had little to do but to follow and kill thoſe we could overtake.

I ſpoiled a good horſe, and got a better from the enemy in his room, and came home weary

enough. My father loſt his horſe, and in the fall was bruiſed in his thigh by another horſe treading on him, which diſabled him for ſome time, and, at his requeſt, by his majeſty's conſent, I commanded the regiment in his abſence.

The enemy received a recruit of four thouſand men the next morning: if they had not, I believe they had gone back to Worceſter; but, encouraged by that reinforcement, they called a council of war, and had a long debate whether they could attack us again: but, notwithſtanding their great victory, they durſt not attempt it, though this addition of ſtrength made them ſuperior to us by three thouſand men.

The king, indeed, expected that when theſe troops joined them they would advance, and we were preparing to receive them at a village called Aino, where the head quarter continued three or four days; and had they really eſteemed the firſt day's work a victory, as they called it, they would have done it: but they thought not proper to venture, but marched away to Warwick, and from thence to Coventry.

The king, to urge them to venture upon him, and come to a ſecond battle, ſat down before Banbury, and took both town and caſtle, and two entire regiments of foot, and one troop of horſe quitted the parliament ſervice, and took up their arms for the king. This was done almoſt before

their faces, which was a better proof of a victory on our side than any they could pretend to.

From Banbury we marched to Oxford; and now all men saw the parliament had made a great mistake (for they were not always in the right any more than we) to leave Oxford without a garrison. The king caused new regular works to be drawn round it, and seven royal bastions with ravelins and outworks, a double ditch, counterscarp, and covered way; all which, added to the advantage of its situation, made it a formidable place, and from this time it became our place of arms, and the center of affairs on the king's side.

If the parliament had the honour of the field, the king reaped the fruits of the victory; for all this part of the country submitted to him. Essex's army made the best of their way to London, and were but in an ill condition when they came there, especially their horse.

The parliament, sensible of this, and receiving daily accounts of the progress we made, began to cool a little in their temper, abated of their first rage, and voted an address for peace; and sent to the king to let him know they were desirous to prevent the effusion of more blood, and to bring things to an accommodation, or, as they called it, a right understanding.

I was now, by the king's particular favour, summoned to the councils of war, my father conti-

nuing abſent and ill; and now I began to think of the real grounds, and, which was more, of the fatal iſſue of this war.

I ſay I now began it; for I cannot ſay that I ever rightly ſtated matters in my own mind before, though I had been enough uſed to blood, and to ſee the deſtruction of people, ſacking of towns, and plundering the country, yet it was in Germany, and among ſtrangers; but I found an unaccountable ſadneſs upon my ſpirits to ſee this acting in my own native country.

It grieved me to the heart, even in the rout of our enemies, to ſee the ſlaughter of them; and even in the fight, to hear a man cry for quarter in Engliſh, moved me to a compaſſion which I had never been uſed to; nay, ſometimes it looked to me as if ſome of my own men had been beaten: and when I heard a ſoldier cry, "O God! I am "ſhot," I looked behind me to ſee which of my own troop was fallen. Here I ſaw myſelf at the cutting of the throats of my friends, and indeed ſome of my near relations. My old comrades and fellow-ſoldiers in Germany were ſome with us, ſome againſt us, as their opinions happened to differ in religion.

For my part, I confeſs I had not much religion in me at that time; but I thought religion rightly practiſed on both ſides would have made us all better friends; and, therefore, ſometimes I began

to think that both the biſhops of our ſide, and the preachers on theirs, made religion rather the pretence than the cauſe of the war: and from thoſe thoughts I vigorouſly argued it at the council of war againſt marching to Brentford while the addreſs for a treaty of peace from the parliament was in hand; for I was for taking the parliament by the handle which they had given us, and entering into a negociation with the advantage of its being at their own requeſt.

I thought the king had now in his hands an opportunity to make an honourable peace; for this battle at Edgehill, as much as they boaſted of the victory to hearten up their friends, had ſorely weakened their army, and diſcouraged their party too, which, in effect, was worſe as to their army.

The horſe were particularly in an ill caſe, and the foot greatly diminiſhed, and the remainder very ſickly: but, beſides this, the parliament were greatly alarmed at the progreſs we made afterward, and ſtill fearing the king's ſurpriſing them, had ſent for the earl of Eſſex to London to defend them, by which the country was, as it were, deſerted and abandoned, and left to be plundered—our parties overrun all places at pleaſure.

All this while I conſidered, that, whatever the ſoldiers of fortune meant by the war, our deſires were to ſuppreſs the exorbitant power of a party, to eſtabliſh our king in his juſt and legal rights,

but not with a design to destroy the constitution of government, and the being of parliament; and therefore I thought now was the time for peace, and there were a great many worthy gentlemen in the army of my mind; and, had our master had ears to hear us, the war might have had an end here.

This address for peace was received by the king at Maidenhead, whither this army was now advanced, and his majesty returned an answer by Sir Peter Killigrew, that he desired nothing more, and would not be wanting on his part.

Upon this the parliament name commissioners, and his majesty excepting Sir John Evelyn, they left him out, and sent others; and desired the king to appoint his residence near London, where the commissioners might wait upon him.

Accordingly, the king appointed Windsor for the place of treaty, and desired the treaty might be hastened. Thus all things looked with a favourable aspect, when one unlucky action knocked it all on the head, and filled both parties with more implacable animosities than they had before, and all hopes of peace vanished.

During this progress of the king's armies we were always abroad with the horse ravaging the country, and plundering the Roundheads. Prince Rupert, a most active, vigilant party man, and, I must own, fitter for such than for a general, was

never lying ſtill, and I ſeldom ſtaid behind; for, our regiment being very well mounted, he would always ſend for us if he had any extraordinary deſign in hand.

One time, in particular, he had a deſign upon Ayleſbury, the capital of Buckinghamſhire: indeed our view at firſt was rather to beat the enemy out of town, and demoliſh their works, and perhaps raiſe ſome contributions on the rich country round it, than to garriſon the place and keep it, for we wanted no more garriſons, being maſters of the field.

The prince had two thouſand five hundred horſe with him in this expedition, but no foot: the town had ſome foot raiſed in the country by Mr. Hambden, and two regiments of the country militia, whom we made light of, but we found they ſtood to their tackle better than well enough. We came very early to the town, and thought they had no notice of us; but ſome falſe brother had given them the alarm, and we found them all in arms; the hedges without the town lined with muſqueteers, on that ſide in particular where they expected us, and the two regiments of foot drawn up in view to ſupport them, with ſome horſe in the rear of all.

The prince, willing, however, to do ſomething, cauſed ſome of his horſe to alight, and ſerve as dragoons; and having broken a way into the en-

cloſures, the horſe beat the foot from behind the hedges, while the reſt who were alighted charged them in the lane which leads to the town. Here they had caſt up ſome works, and fired from their lines very regularly, conſidering them as militia only, the governor encouraging them by his example; ſo that finding, without ſome foot, there would be no good to be done, we gave it over, and drew off, and ſo Ayleſbury eſcaped a ſcouring for that time.

I cannot deny but theſe flying parties of horſe committed great ſpoil among the country people, and ſometimes the prince gave a liberty to ſome cruelties which were not at all for the king's intereſt; becauſe it being ſtill upon our own country, and the king's own ſubjects, whom, in all his declarations, he proteſted to be careful of. It ſeemed to contradict all thoſe proteſtations and declarations, and ſerved to aggravate and exaſperate the common people; and the king's enemies made all the advantages of it that were poſſible, by crying out of twice as many extravagancies as were committed.

It is true the king, who naturally abhorred ſuch things, could not reſtrain his men, no, nor his generals, ſo abſolutely as he would have done. The war, on his ſide, was voluntarily: many gentlemen ſerved him at their own charge, and ſome paid whole regiments themſelves.

Sometimes alſo the king's affairs were ſtraiter

than ordinary, and his men were not very well paid, and this obliged him to wink at their excurſions upon the country, though he did not approve of them; and yet I muſt own, that in thoſe parts of England where the war was hotteſt there never was ſeen that ruin and depopulation, murders, raviſhments, and barbarities, which I have ſeen even among Proteſtant armies abroad in Germany, and other foreign parts of the world: and if the parliament people had ſeen thoſe things abroad as I had, they would not have complained.

The moſt I have ſeen was plundering the towns for proviſions, drinking their beer, and turning our horſes into their fields or ſtacks of corn, and ſometimes the ſoldiers would be a little rude with the wenches; but, alas! what was this to count Tilly's ravages in Saxony? or what was our taking of Leiceſter by ſtorm, where they cried out of our barbarities, to the ſacking of New Brandenburg, or the taking of Magdeburg?

In Leiceſter, of ſeven or eight thouſand people in the town, three hundred were killed: in Magdeburg, of twenty-five thouſand, ſcarce two thouſand ſeven hundred were left, and the whole town burnt to aſhes. I myſelf have ſeen ſeventeen or eighteen villages on fire in a day, and the people driven away from their dwellings like herds of cattle, the men murdered, the women ſtripped, and ſeven or eight hundred of them together, after they

had ſuffered all the indignities and abuſes of the ſoldiers, driven ſtark naked in the winter through the great towns to ſeek ſhelter and relief from the charity of their enemies.

I do not inſtance theſe greater barbarities to juſtify leſſer actions, which are nevertheleſs irregular; but I do ſay, that, circumſtances conſidered, this war was managed with as much humanity on both ſides as could be expected, eſpecially conſidering the animoſity of parties.

But to return to the prince — He had not always the ſame ſucceſs in theſe enterpriſes, for ſometimes we came ſhort home: and I cannot omit one pleaſant adventure which happened to a party of ours in one of theſe excurſions into Buckinghamſhire.

The major of our regiment was ſoundly beaten by a party which, as I may ſay, was led by a woman, and if I had not reſcued him, I know not but he had been taken priſoner by a woman. It ſeems our men had beſieged ſome fortified houſe about Oxfordſhire, towards Thame, and the houſe being defended by the lady in her huſband's abſence, ſhe had yielded the houſe upon a capitulation; one of the articles of which was, to march out with all her ſervants, ſoldiers, and goods, and to be conveyed to Thame.

Whether ſhe thought to have gone no farther, or that ſhe reckoned herſelf ſafe there, I know not; but my major, with two troops of horſe, met with

this lady and her party, about five miles from Thame, as we were coming back from our defeated attack of Ayleſbury.

We reckoned ourſelves in an enemy's country, and had lived a little at large, or at diſcretion, as it is called abroad; and theſe two troops, with the major, were returning to our detachment from a little village, where, at a farmer's houſe, they had met with ſome liquor; and truly ſome of his men were ſo drunk they could but juſt ſit upon their horſes. The major himſelf was not much better, and the whole body were but in a ſorry condition to fight.

Upon the road they met this party. The lady, having no deſign of fighting, and being, as ſhe thought, under the protection of the articles, founded a parley, and deſired to ſpeak with the officer.

The major, as drunk as he was, could tell her, that, by the articles, ſhe was to be aſſured no farther than Thame; and being now five miles beyond it, ſhe was a fair enemy, and therefore demanded to ſurrender themſelves priſoners.

The lady ſeemed ſurpriſed; but, being ſenſible ſhe was in the wrong, offered to compound for her goods, and would have given him three hundred pounds, and, I think, ſeven or eight horſes. The major would certainly have taken it, if he had not been drunk; but he refuſed it, and gave threaten-

ing words to her, (bluſtering in language which he thought proper to fright a woman) that he would cut them all to pieces, and give no quarter.

The lady, who had been more uſed to the ſmell of powder than he imagined, called ſome of her ſervants to her, and, conſulting with them what to do, they unanimouſly encouraged her to let them fight; told her it was plain that the commander was drunk, and all that were with him were rather worſe than he, and hardly able to ſit their horſes; and that therefore one bold charge would put them all into confuſion.

In a word, ſhe conſented, and, as ſhe was a woman, they deſired her to ſecure herſelf among the waggons; but ſhe refuſed, and told them bravely ſhe would take her fate with them.

In ſhort, ſhe boldly bade my major defiance, and that he might do his worſt, ſince ſhe had offered him fair, and he had refuſed it: her mind was altered now, and ſhe would give him nothing, and bade him be gone.

Upon this ſhe gave him leave to go back to his men; but before he could tell his tale to them ſhe was at his heels with all her men, and gave him ſuch a home charge as put his men into diſorder; and being too drunk to rally, they were knocked down before they knew what to do with themſelves, and in a few minutes more they took to a plain flight.

But what was ſtill worſe, the men, being ſome of them very drunk, when they came to run for their lives, fell over one another, and tumbled over their horſes, and made ſuch work, that a troop of women might have beaten them all.

In this pickle, with the enemy at his heels, I came in with him; hearing the noiſe: when I appeared the purſuers retreated, and ſeeing what a condition my people were in, and not knowing the ſtrength of the enemy, I contented myſelf with bringing them off, without purſuing the other; nor could I ever hear poſitively who this female captain was.

We loſt ſeventeen or eighteen of our men, and about thirty horſes; but when the particulars of the ſtory were told us, our major was ſo laughed at by the whole army, and laughed at every where, that he was aſhamed to ſhew himſelf for a week or a fortnight after.

But to return to the king — His majeſty, as I obſerved, was, at Maidenhead, addreſſed by the parliament for peace; and Windſor being appointed for the place of treaty, the van of his army lay at Colnbrook.

In the mean time, whether it were true, or only a pretence, but it was reported the parliament general had ſent a body of his troops, with a train of artillery, to Hammerſmith, in order to fall upon ſome part of our army, or to take ſome advanced

poſt, which was to the prejudice of our men; whereupon the king ordered the army to march, and, by the favour of a thick miſt, came within half a mile of Brentford before he was diſcovered.

There were two regiments of foot and about ſix hundred horſe in the town of the enemy's beſt troops: theſe, taking the alarm, poſted themſelves on the bridge at the weſt end of the town. The king attacked them with a ſelect detachment of his beſt infantry, and they defended themſelves with incredible obſtinacy.

I muſt own I never ſaw raw men (for they could not have been in arms above four months) act like them in my life. In ſhort, there was no forcing theſe men; for though two whole brigades of our foot, backed by our horſe, made five ſeveral attacks upon them, they could not break them, and we loſt a great many brave men in that action.

At laſt, ſeeing the obſtinacy of theſe men, a party of horſe was ordered to go round from Oſterly; and entering the town on the north ſide, where, though the horſe made ſome reſiſtance, it was not conſiderable, the town was preſently taken.

I led my regiment through an encloſure, and came into the town nearer to the bridge than the reſt, by which means I got firſt into the town; but I had this loſs by my expedition, that the foot charged me before the body was come up, and, pouring in their ſhot very furiouſly, my men were

but in an ill caſe, and would not have ſtood much longer, if the reſt of the horſe, coming up the lane, had not found them other employment.

When the horſe were thus entered, they immediately diſperſed the enemy's horſe, who fled away towards London, and falling in, ſword in hand, upon the rear of the foot who were engaged at the bridge, they were all cut in pieces, except about two hundred, who, ſcorning to aſk quarter, deſperately threw themſelves into the river Thames, where they were moſt of them drowned.

The parliament and their party made a great outcry at this attempt; that it was baſe and treacherous while in a treaty of peace; and that the king, having amuſed them with hearkening to a treaty, deſigned to have ſeized upon their train of artillery firſt, and after that to have ſurpriſed both the city of London and the parliament. And I have obſerved ſince, that our hiſtorians note this action as contrary to the laws of honour and treaties, though, as there was no ceſſation of arms agreed on, nothing is more contrary to the laws of war than to ſuggeſt it.

That it was a very unhappy thing to the king and whole nation, as it broke off the hopes of peace, and was the occaſion of bringing the Scots army in upon us, I readily acknowledge; but that there was any thing diſhonourable in it I cannot allow: for though the parliament had addreſſed to

the king for peace, and ſuch ſteps were taken in it as before, yet, as I have ſaid, there were no propoſals made on either ſide for a ceſſation of arms; and all the world muſt allow, that in ſuch caſes the war goes on in the field while the peace goes on in the cabinet.

And if the war goes on, admit the king had deſigned to ſurpriſe the city or parliament, or all of them, it had been no more than the cuſtom of war allows, and what they would have done by him if they could.

The treaty of Weſtphalia, or peace of Munſter, which ended the bloody wars of Germany, was a precedent for this. That treaty was actually negociating ſeven years, and yet the war went on with all the vigour and rancour imaginable, even to the laſt; nay, the very time after the concluſion of it, but before the news could be brought to the army, did he that was afterwards king of Sweden, Carolus Guſtavus, take the city of Prague by ſurpriſe, and therein an ineſtimable booty.

Beſides, all the wars of Europe are full of examples of this kind; and therefore I cannot ſee any reaſon to blame the king for this action, as to the fairneſs of it. Indeed as to the policy of it I can ſay little; but the caſe was this—the king had a gallant army, flushed with ſucceſs, and things hitherto had gone on very proſperouſly both with his own army and elſewhere: he had above thirty-

five thouſand men in his own army, including his garriſons left at Banbury, Shrewſbury, Worceſter, Oxford, Wallingford, Abingdon, Reading, and places adjacent.

On the other hand, the parliament army came back to London in but a very ſorry condition*; for what with their loſs in their victory, as they called it, at Edgehill, their ſickneſs, and a haſty march to London, they were very much diminiſhed, though at London they ſoon recruited them again. And this proſperity of the king's affairs might encourage him to ſtrike this blow, thinking to bring the parliament to better terms by the apprehenſions of ihe ſuperior ſtrength of the king's forces.

But, however it was, the ſucceſs did not equally anſwer the king's expectation; the vigorous defence made by the troops poſted at Brentford gave the earl of Eſſex opportunity, with extraordinary application, to draw his forces out to Turnham Green; and the exceeding alacrity of the enemy was ſuch, that their whole army appeared with them, making together an army of twenty-four thouſand men, drawn up in view of our forces, by eight o'clock the next morning.

* General Ludlow, in his Memoirs, Vol. I. page 52, ſays, "Their men returned from Warwick to London "not like men who had obtained a victory, but like men "that had been beaten."

The city regiments were placed between the regular troops, and all together offered us battle, but we were not in a condition to accept it. The king indeed was ſometimes of the mind to charge them, and once or twice ordered parties to advance to begin to ſkirmiſh, but, upon better advice, altered his mind; and indeed it was the wiſeſt counſel to defer the fighting at that time.

The parliament generals were as unfixed in their reſolutions on the other ſide as the king: ſometimes they ſent out parties, and then called them back again. One ſtrong party, of near three thouſand men, marched off towards Acton, with orders to amuſe us on that ſide, but were countermanded.

Indeed I was of the opinion we might have ventured the battle; for though the parliament's army were more numerous, yet the city trained bands, which made up four thouſand of their foot, were not much eſteemed, and the king was a great deal ſtronger in horſe than they; but the main reaſon that hindered the engagement was want of ammunition, which the king having duly weighed, he cauſed the carriages and cannon to draw off firſt, and then the foot, the horſe continuing to face the enemy till all was clear gone, and then we drew off too, and marched to Kingſton, and the next day to Reading.

Now the king ſaw his miſtake in not continuing his march for London, inſtead of facing about to

fight the enemy at Edgehill: and all the honour we had gained in ſo many ſucceſsful enterpriſes lay buried in this ſhameful retreat from an army of citizens' wives; for truly that appearance at Turnham Green was gay, but not great.

There were as many ſpectators as actors: the crowds of ladies, apprentices, and mob, were ſo great, that when the parties of our army advanced, and, as they thought, to charge, the coaches, horſemen, and crowd, made ſuch a buſtle to be out of harm's way, that it looked little better than a rout: and I was perſuaded a good home charge from our horſe would have ſent their whole army after them; but ſo it was, that this crowd of an army was to triumph over us, and they did it, for all the kingdom was carefully informed how their dreadful looks had frightened us away.

Upon our retreat, the parliament reſent this attack, which they called treacherous, and vote no accommodation; but they conſidered of it afterwards, and ſent ſix commiſſioners to the king with propoſitions; but the change of the ſcene of action changed the terms of peace, and now they made terms like conquerors, petition him to deſert his army, and return to the parliament.

Had his majeſty, at the head of his army, with the full reputation they had before, and in the ebb of their affairs, reſted at Windſor, and commenced a treaty, they had certainly made more reaſonable

propoſals; but now the ſcabbard ſeemed to be thrown away on both ſides.

The reſt of the winter was ſpent in ſtrengthening parties, and places alſo in fruitleſs treaties of peace, meſſages, remonſtrances, and paper war, on both ſides, and no action remarkable happened any where that I remember; yet the king gained ground every where, and his forces in the north increaſed under the earl of Newcaſtle; alſo my lord Goring (then only colonel Goring) arrived from Holland, bringing three ſhips laden with arms and ammunition, and notice that the queen was following with more.

Goring brought four thouſand barrels of gunpowder, and twenty thouſand ſmall arms, all which came very ſeaſonably, for the king was in great want of them, eſpecially the powder. Upon this recruit the earl of Newcaſtle drew down to York, and being above ſixteen thouſand ſtrong, made Sir Thomas Fairfax give ground, and retreat to Hull.

Whoever lay ſtill, prince Rupert was always abroad, and I choſe to go out with his highneſs as often as I had opportunity, for hitherto he was always ſucceſsful. About this time, the prince being at Oxford, I gave him intelligence of a party of the enemy who lived a little at large, too much for good ſoldiers, about Cirenceſter: the prince, glad of the news, reſolved to attack them; and though it was a wet ſeaſon, and the ways exceed-

ing bad, being in February, yet we marched all night in the dark, which occaſioned the loſs of ſome horſes, and men too, in ſloughs and holes, which the darkneſs of the night had occaſioned them to fall into.

We were a very ſtrong party, being about three thouſand horſe and dragoons, and coming to Cirenceſter very early in the morning, to our great ſatisfaction the enemy were perfectly ſurpriſed, not having the leaſt notice of our march, which anſwered our end more ways than one.

However, the earl of Stamford's regiment made ſome reſiſtance; but the town having no works to defend it, ſaving a ſlight breaſtwork at the entrance of the road, with a turnpike, our dragoons alighted, and forcing their way over the bellies of Stamford's foot, they beat them from their defence, and followed them at their heels into the town.

Stamford's regiment was entirely cut in pieces, and ſeveral others, to the number of about eight hundred men, and the town entered without any other reſiſtance. We took twelve hundred priſoners, three thouſand arms, and the county magazine, which at that time was conſiderable, for there were about a hundred and twenty barrels of powder, and all things in proportion.

I received the firſt hurt I got in this war at this action; for having followed the dragoons, and brought my regiment within the barricado which

they had gained, a muſquet bullet ſtruck my horſe juſt in the head, und that ſo effectually, that he was dead in an inſtant. The fall plunged me into a puddle of dirty water; and my man having brought me another horſe, and cleaned me a little, I was juſt getting up, when another bullet ſtruck me on my left hand, which I had juſt clapped on the horſe's mane to lift myſelf on the ſaddle. The blow broke one of my fingers, and bruiſed my hand very much, and it proved a very painful hurt to me.

For the preſent I did not much concern myſelf about it, but made my man tie it up cloſe in my handkerchief, and led up my men to the market place, where we had a very ſmart bruſh with ſome muſqueteers who were poſted in the church-yard; but our dragoons ſoon beat them out there, and the whole town was then our own. We made no ſtay here, but marched back with all our booty to Oxford, for we knew the enemy were very ſtrong at Glouceſter, and that way.

Much about the ſame time the earl of Northampton, with a ſtrong party, ſet upon Litchfield, and took the town, but could not take the cloſe; but they beat a body of four thouſand men, coming to the relief of the town, under Sir John Gell of Derbyſhire and Sir William Brereton of Cheſhire, and killing ſix hundred of them, diſperſed the reſt.

Our ſecond campaign now began to open. The

king marched from Oxford to relieve Reading, which was beſieged by the parliament forces; but colonel Fielding, lieutenant governor, Sir Arthur Aſhton being wounded, ſurrendered to Eſſex before the king could come up; for which he was tried by a court martial, and condemned to die, but the king forbore to execute the ſentence.

This was the firſt town we had loſt in the war; for ſtill the ſucceſs of the king's affairs was very encouraging. This bad news, however, was overbalanced by an account brought the king at the ſame time, by an expreſs from York, that the queen had landed in the north, and had brought over a great magazine of arms and ammunition, beſides ſome men.

Some time after this, her majeſty, marching ſouthward to meet the king, joined the army near Edgehill, where the firſt battle was fought. She brought the king three thouſand foot, fifteen hundred horſe and dragoons, ſix pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred barrels of powder, and twelve thouſand ſmall arms.

During this proſperity of the king's affairs his armies increaſed mightily in the weſtern counties alſo. Sir William Waller, indeed, commanded for the parliament in thoſe parts too, and particularly in Dorſetſhire, Hampſhire, and Berkſhire, where he carried on their cauſe but too faſt; but, farther weſt, Sir Nicholas Flamming, Sir Ralph Hopton,

and Sir Bevil Greenvil, had extended the king's quarters from Cornwall through Devonſhire, and into Somerſetſhire, where they took Exeter, Barnſtaple, and Biddeford; and the firſt of theſe they fortified very well, making it a place of arms for the weſt, and afterwards it was the reſidence of the queen.

At laſt the famous Sir William Waller and the king's forces met, and came to a pitched battle, where Sir William loſt all his honour again. This was at Roundway-down in Wiltſhire. Waller had engaged our Corniſh army at Lanſdown, and in a very obſtinate fight had the better of them, and made them retreat to the Devizes.

Sir William Hopton, however, having a good body of foot untouched, ſent expreſſes and meſſengers one on the neck of another to the king for ſome horſe; and the king being in great concern for that army, who were compoſed of the flower of the Corniſh men, commanded me to march with all poſſible ſecrecy, as well as expedition, with twelve hundred horſe and dragoons from Oxford to join them.

We ſet out in the depth of the night, to avoid, if poſſible, any intelligence being given of our route, and ſoon joined with the Corniſh army, when it was as ſoon reſolved to give battle to Waller; and, give him his due, he was as forward to fight as we.

As it is eaſy to meet when both ſides are willing to be found, Sir William Waller met us upon Roundway-down, where we had a fair field on both ſides, and room enough to draw up our horſe.

In a word, there was little ceremony to the work: the armies joined, and we charged his horſe with ſo much reſolution, that they quickly fled, and quitted the field, for we overmatched him in horſe, and this was the entire deſtruction of their army; for their infantry, which outnumbered ours by fifteen hundred, were now at our mercy: ſome faint reſiſtance they made, juſt enough to give us occaſion to break into their ranks with our horſe, where we gave time to our foot to defeat others that ſtood to their work; upon which they began to diſband, and ran every way they could; but our horſe having ſurrounded them, we made a fearful havock of them.

We loſt not above two hundred men in this action—Waller loſt above four thouſand killed and taken, and as many diſperſed that never returned to their colours. Thoſe of foot that eſcaped got into Briſtol, and Waller, with the poor remains of his routed regiments, got to London; ſo that it is plain ſome ran eaſt, and ſome ran weſt, that is to ſay, they fled every way they could.

My going with this detachment prevented my being at the ſiege of Briſtol, which prince Rupert

attacked much about the ſame time, and it ſurrendered in three days. The parliament queſtioned colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, and had him tried as a coward by a court martial, and condemned to die, but ſuſpended the execution alſo, as the king did the governor of Reading.

I have often heard prince Rupert ſay, they did colonel Fiennes wrong in that affair; and that if the colonel would have ſummoned him, he would have demanded a paſſport of the parliament, and have come up and convinced the court that colonel Fiennes had not miſbehaved himſelf, and that he had not a ſufficient garriſon to defend a city of that extent, having not above twelve hundred men in the town, excepting ſome of Waller's runaways, moſt of whom were unfit for ſervice, and without arms; and that the citizens in general being diſaffected to him, and ready on the firſt occaſion to open the gates to the king's forces, it was impoſſible for him to have kept the city; and "when I "had farther informed them," ſaid the prince, "of the meaſures I had taken for a general aſſault "the next day, I am confident I ſhould have con-"vinced them that I could have taken the city by "ſtorm if he had not ſurrendered."

The king's affairs were now in a very good poſture, and three armies in the north, weſt, and in the center, counted, in the muſters, above ſeventy thouſand men, beſides ſmall garriſons and parties

abroad. Several of the lords, and more of the commons, began to fall off from the parliament, and made their peace with the king; and the affairs of the parliament began to look very ill.

The city of London was their inexhauſtible ſupport and magazine, both for men, money, and all things neceſſary; and whenever their army was out of order, the clergy of their party in but one Sunday or two would preach the young citizens out of their ſhops, the labourers from their maſters, into the army, and recruit them on a ſudden: and all this was ſtill owing to the omiſſion I firſt obſerved, of not marching to London when it might have been ſo eaſily effected.

We had now another, or a fairer opportunity than before, but an ill uſe was made of it. The king, as I have obſerved, was in a very good poſture: he had three large armies roving at large over the kingdom. The Corniſh army, victorious and numerous, had beaten Waller, ſecured and fortified Exeter, which the queen had made her reſidence, and was there delivered of a daughter, the princeſs Henrietta Maria, afterwards dutcheſs of Orleans, and mother of the dutcheſs dowager of Savoy, commonly known, in the French ſtile, by the title of Madame Royal.

They had ſecured Saliſbury, Sherborne caſtle, Weymouth, Wincheſter, and Baſinghouſe, and commanded the whole country, except Bridge-

water and Taunton, Plymouth and Lynn; all which places they held blocked up.

The king was alſo entirely maſter of all Wales, Monmouthſhire, Cheſhire, Shropſhire, Staffordſhire, Worceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Berkſhire, and all the towns from Windſor up the Thames to Cirenceſter, except Reading and Henley; and of the whole Severn, excepting Glouceſter.

The earl of Newcaſtle had garriſons in every ſtrong place in the north, from Berwick upon Tweed to Boſton in Lincolnſhire and Newark upon Trent, Hull only excepted, whither the lord Fairfax and his ſon, Sir Thomas, were retreated, their troops being routed and broken, Sir Thomas Fairfax's baggage, with his lady and ſervants taken priſoners, and himſelf hardly eſcaping.

And now a great council of war was held in the king's quarters what enterpriſe to go upon; and it happened to be the very ſame day when the parliament were in a ſerious debate what ſhould become of them, and whoſe help they ſhould ſeek? and indeed they had cauſe for it; and had our councils been as ready and well grounded as theirs, we had put an end to the war in a month's time.

In this council the king propoſed the marching to London, to put an end to the parliament, and encourage his friends and loyal ſubjects in Kent who were ready to riſe for him; and ſhewed us letters from the earl of Newcaſtle, wherein he

offered to join his majeſty with a detachment of four thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot, if his majeſty thought fit to march ſouthward, and yet leave forces ſufficient to guard the north from any invaſion.

I confeſs, when I ſaw the ſcheme the king had himſelf drawn for this attempt, I felt an unuſual ſatisfaction in my mind, from the hopes that we might bring this war to ſome tolerable end; for I profeſſed myſelf, on all occaſions, heartily weary of fighting with friends, brothers, neighbours, and acquaintance; and I made no queſtion but this motion of the king's would effectually bring the parliament to reaſon.

All men ſeemed to like the enterpriſe but the earl of Worceſter, who, on particular views for ſecuring the country behind, as he called it, propoſed the taking in the town of Glouceſter and Hereford firſt. He made a long ſpeech of the danger of leaving colonel Maſſey, governor of Glouceſter, an active, reſolute man, with a ſtrong party, in the heart of all the king's quarters, ready on all occaſions to ſally out and ſurpriſe the neighbouring garriſons, as he had done Sudley caſtle and others, and of the eaſe and freedom to all thoſe weſtern parts to have them fully cleared of the enemy.

Intereſt preſently backed this advice, and all thoſe gentlemen whoſe eſtates lay that way, or

whoſe friends lived about Worceſter, Shrewſbury, Bridgnorth, or the borders, and who, as they ſaid, had heard the frequent wiſhes of the country to have the city of Glouceſter reduced, fell in with this advice, alledging the conſequence it was of for the commerce of the country to have the navigation of the Severn free, which was only interrupted by this one town from the ſea up to Shrewſbury, &c.

I oppoſed this, and ſo did ſeveral others—prince Rupert was vehemently againſt it; and we both offered, with the troops of the county, to keep Glouceſter blocked up during the king's march for London, ſo that Maſſey ſhould not be able to ſtir.

This propoſal made the earl of Worceſter's party more eager for the ſiege than before, for they had no mind to a blockade, which would leave the country to maintain the troops all the ſummer; and, of all men, the prince did not pleaſe them; for he having no extraordinary character for diſcipline, his company was not much deſired even by our friends.

Thus, in an ill hour, it was reſolved to ſit down before Glouceſter. The king had a gallant army of twenty-eight thouſand men, whereof eleven thouſand horſe, the fineſt body of gentlemen that ever I ſaw together in my life; their horſes without compariſon, and their equipages the fineſt and

beſt in the world, and their perſons Engliſhmen, which I think is enough to ſay of them.

According to the reſolution taken in the council of war, the army marched weſtward, and ſat down before Glouceſter the beginning of Auguſt. There we ſpent a month to the leaſt purpoſe that ever army did: our men received frequent affronts from the deſperate ſallies of an inconſiderable enemy.

I cannot forbear reflecting on the misfortunes of this ſiege—our men were ſtrangely diſpirited in all the aſſaults they gave upon the place — there was ſomething looked like diſaſter and miſmanagement, and our men went on with an ill will, and no reſolution. The king deſpiſed the place; and the king, to carry it ſword in hand, made no regular approaches, and the garriſon being deſperate, made therefore the greater ſlaughter.

In this work our horſe, who were ſo numerous and ſo fine, had no employment. Two thouſand horſe had been enough for this buſineſs, and the enemy had no garriſon or party within forty miles of us; ſo that we had nothing to do but look on with infinite regret upon the loſſes of our foot.

The enemy made frequent and deſperate ſallies, in one of which I had my ſhare. I was poſted upon a parade, or place of arms, with part of my regiment, and part of colonel Goring's regiment of horſe, in order to ſupport a body of foot who were ordered to ſtorm the point of a breaſtwork

which the enemy had raiſed to defend one of the avenues to the town.

The foot were beat off with loſs, as they always were; and Maſſey, not content to have beaten them from his works, ſallied out with near four hundred men, and falling in upon the foot, as they were rallying under the cover of our horſe, we put ourſelves in the beſt poſture we could to receive them.

As Maſſey did not expect, I ſuppoſe, to engage with any horſe, he had no pikes with him, which encouraged us to treat him the more rudely; but, as to deſperate men danger is no danger, when he found he muſt clear his hands of us before he could diſpatch the foot, he faced up to us, fired but one volley of his ſmall ſhot, and fell to battering us with the ſtocks of their muſquets in ſuch a manner, that one would have thought they had been mad men.

We at firſt deſpiſed this way of clubbing us, and, charging through them, laid a great many upon the ground, and in repeating our charge trampled more under our horſes feet, and wheeling thus continually beat them off from our foot, who were juſt upon the point of diſbanding.

Upon this they charged us again with their fire, and at one volley killed thirty-three or thirty-four men and horſes; and had they had pikes with them, I know not what we ſhould have done;

but at laſt charging through them again, we divided them; one part, being hemmed in between us and our own foot, were cut in pieces; the reſt, as I underſtood afterwards, retreated into the town, having loſt three hundred of their men.

In this laſt charge I received a rude blow from a ſtout fellow on foot with the but end of his muſquet, which ſtunned me, and fetched me off from my horſe; and had not ſome took care of me, I had been trod to death by our own men: but the fellow being immediately killed, and my friends finding me alive, had taken me up, and carried me off at ſome diſtance, where I came to myſelf again after ſome time, but knew little of what I did or ſaid that night.

This was the reaſon why I ſay I afterwards underſtood the enemy retreated, for I ſaw no more what they did then; nor indeed was I well of this blow for all the reſt of the ſummer, but had frequent pains in my head, dizzineſſes, and ſwimming, that gave me ſome fears the blow had injured the ſkull; but it wore off again, nor did it hinder my attending my charge.

This action, I think, was the only one that looked like a defeat given the enemy at this ſiege: we killed them near three hundred men, as I have ſaid, and loſt about ſixty of our troopers.

All this time, while the king was harraſſing and weakening the beſt army he ever ſaw together du-

ring the whole war, the parliament generals, or rather preachers, were recruiting theirs; for the preachers were better than drummers to raiſe volunteers, zealouſly exhorting the London wives to part with their huſbands, and the city to ſend ſome of their trained bands to join the army for the relief of Glouceſter; and now they began to advance towards us.

The king, hearing of the advance of Eſſex's army, who by this time was come to Ayleſbury, had ſummoned what forces he had within call to join him; and accordingly he received three thouſand foot from Somerſetſhire: and having battered the town for thirty-ſix hours, and made a fair breach, reſolved upon an aſſault, if poſſible, to carry the town before the enemy came up. The aſſault began about ſeven in the evening, and the men boldly mounted the breach; but after a very obſtinate and bloody diſpute, were beaten out again by the beſieged with great loſs.

Being thus often repulſed, and the earl of Eſſex's army approaching, the king called a council of war, and propoſed to fight Eſſex's army.

The officers of the horſe were for fighting; and, without doubt, we were ſuperior to him both in number and goodneſs of our horſe, but the foot were not in an equal condition: and the colonels of foot repreſenting to the king the weakneſs of their regiments, and that their men had been greatly

diſheartened at this curſed ſiege, the graver counſel prevailed, and it was reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, and retreat towards Briſtol, till the army was recruited.

Purſuant to this reſolution, the 5th of September, the king having before ſent away his heavy cannon and baggage, raiſed the ſiege, and marched to Berkley caſtle. The earl of Eſſex came the next day to Birdlip Hills; and underſtanding, by meſſengers from colonel Maſſey, that the ſiege was raiſed, ſent a recruit of two thouſand five hundred men into the city, and followed us himſelf with a great body of horſe.

This body of horſe, without any foot, ſhewed themſelves to us once in a large field fit to have entertained them in; and our ſcouts having aſſured us they were not above four thouſand, the king ordered a detachment of about the ſame number to face them.

I deſired his majeſty to let us have two regiments of dragoons with us, which was then eight hundred men in a regiment, leſt there might be ſome dragoons among the enemy, which the king granted; and accordingly we marched, and drew up in view of them. They ſtood their ground, having, as they ſuppoſed, ſome advantage of the manner they were poſted in, and expected we would charge them.

The king, who did us the honour to command

this party, finding they would not ſtir, called me to him, and ordered me, with the dragoons and my own regiment, to take a circuit round by a village to a certain lane where, in their retreat, they muſt have paſſed, and which opened to a ſmall common on their flank, with orders, if they engaged, to advance and charge them in the flank.

I marched immediately; but though the country about there was almoſt all encloſures, yet their ſcouts were ſo vigilant, that they diſcovered me, and gave notice to the body; upon which their whole party moved to the left, as if they intended to charge me before the king with his body of horſe could come; but the king was too vigilant to be ſo circumvented, and therefore his majeſty, perceiving this, ſent away three regiments of horſe to ſecond me, and a meſſenger before them to order me to halt, and expect the enemy, for that he would follow with the whole body.

But before this order reached me I had halted for ſome time; for finding myſelf diſcovered, and not judging it ſafe to be entirely cut off from the main body, I ſtopped at the village, and cauſing my dragoons to alight, and line a thick hedge on my left, I drew up my horſe juſt at the entrance into the village opening to a common. The enemy came up on the trot to charge me, but were ſaluted with a terrible fire from the dragoons out of the hedge, which killed them near a thouſand men.

This being a perfect ſurpriſe to them, they halted, and juſt at that moment they received orders from their main body to retreat; the king at the ſame time appearing upon ſome ſmall heights in their rear, which obliged them to think of retreating, or coming to a general battle, which was none of their deſign.

I had no occaſion to follow them, not being in a condition to attack their whole body; but the dragoons coming out into the common, gave them another volley at a diſtance, which reached them effectually, for it killed about twenty of them, and wounded more; but they drew off, and never fired a ſhot at us, fearing to be encloſed between two parties, and ſo marched away to their general's quarters, leaving ten or twelve more of their fellows killed, and about a hundred and eighty horſes. Our men, after the country faſhion, gave them a ſhout at parting, to let them ſee we knew they were afraid of us.

However, this relieving of Glouceſter raiſed the ſpirits as well as the reputation of the parliament forces, and was a great defeat to us; and from this time things began to look with a melancholy aſpect, for the proſperous condition of the king's affairs began to decline.

The opportunities he had let ſlip were never to be recovered; and the parliament, in their former extremity, having voted an invitation to the Scots

to march to their aſſiſtance, we had now new enemies to encounter, and indeed there began the ruin of his majeſty's affairs; for the earl of Newcaſtle, not able to defend himſelf againſt the Scots on his rear, the earl of Mancheſter in his front, and Sir Thomas Fairfax on his flank, was every where routed and defeated, and his forces obliged to quit the field to the enemy.

About this time it was that we began to hear of the name of one Oliver Cromwell, who, like a little cloud, roſe out of the eaſt, and ſpread firſt into the north, till it ſhed down a flood that overwhelmed the three kingdoms.

When the war firſt broke out, he was a private captain of horſe, but now commanded a regiment; and joining with the earl of Mancheſter, the firſt action we heard of him, which emblazoned his fame, was at Grantham in Lincolnſhire, where, with only his own regiment, he defeated twenty-four troops of horſe and dragoons of the king's forces.

Then at Gainſborough, in the ſame county, with two regiments, his own of horſe, and one of dragoons, he defeated near three thouſand of the earl of Newcaſtle's men, killed lieutenant-general Cavendiſh, brother to the earl of Devonſhire, who commanded them, and relieved Gainſborough; and, though the whole army came in to the reſcue,

he made good his retreat to Lincoln, with little loſs.

The next week he defeated Sir John Henderſon at Winſby, near Horncaſtle, with ſixteen regiments of horſe and dragoons, himſelf having not half that number, killed the lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and ſeveral gentlemen of quality.

Thus this firebrand of war began to blaze, and he ſoon grew a terror to the north; for victory attended him like a page of honour, and he was never known to be beaten during the whole war*.

Now we began to reflect again on the misfortune of our maſter's counſels: had we marched to Lon-

* This ſurpriſing man, notwithſtanding what ſome have ignorantly aſſerted, was very well deſcended. The original name of his family was not Cromwell, but Williams. The father of our hero, Robert Cromwell, eſq., a brewer at Huntingdon, was ſecond ſon of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchingbrook in Huntingdonſhire. When Sir Henry died, his eldeſt ſon, Sir Oliver, inherited both the title and eſtate, and after whom his nephew, Oliver, ſeems to be named. Mr. Robert Cromwell's eſtate was much inferior to his brother's. He had not above 300l. a year, when his wife, daughter of Sir Richard Stuart, brought him a ſon that was to have at his command the perſons and fortunes of three wealthy nations. It was on the 25th of April, 1599, that this prodigy was given to the world, at the above town of

don, inſtead of beſieging Glouceſter, we had finiſhed the war with a ſtroke.

The parliament's army was in a moſt deſpicable condition, and had never been recruited, had we not given them a month's time, which we lingered away at this fatal town of Glouceſter; but it was too late to reflect — we were a diſheartened army, but we were not beaten yet, nor broken — we had a large country to recruit in, and we loſt no time, but raiſed men apace.

In the mean time his majeſty, after a ſhort ſtay at Briſtol, made back again towards Oxford with a part of the foot and all the horſe.

At Cirenceſter we had a ſkirmiſh again with the earl of Eſſex: that town owed us a ſhrewd turn for having handled them ſo coarſely before, when

Huntingdon. It was owing, perhaps, to his turn for action, that we read of his running into ſome exceſſes, when he retired from Cambridge after his father's death, which occaſioned his mother to enter him at Lincoln's Inn. The ſtudy of the law, however, did not long agree with him; and having 500l. a year left him by his uncle, Sir Richard Stuart, his mother's brother, beſides what he inherited from his father, he fixed entirely in the country, growing as remarkably ſober and religious as he had been before vicious and extravagant. In the year 1640 he was choſen member of that which was afterwards called the Long Parliament for the town of Cambridge.

prince Rupert ſeized the county magazine. I happened to be in the town that night with Sir Nicholas Criſp, whoſe regiment of horſe was quartered there with colonel Spencer, and ſome foot; my own regiment being gone before to Oxford.

About ten at night a party of Eſſex's men beat up our quarters by ſurpriſe, juſt as we had ſerved them before: they fell in with us as we were going to bed; and having beaten the out-guards, were got into the middle of the town before our men could get on horſeback.

Sir Nicholas Criſp, hearing the alarm, got up, and, with ſome of his clothes on and ſome off, came into my chamber—"We are all undone," ſaid he: "the Roundheads are upon us."—We had but little time to conſult; but being in one of the principal inns in the town, we inſtantly ordered the gates of the inn to be ſhut, and ſent to the other inns, where our men were quartered, to do the like, with orders, if they had any back doors, or ways to get out, to come to us.

By this means, however, we got ſo much time as to get on horſeback, and ſo many of our men came to us by back ways, that we had near three hundred horſe in the yards and places behind the houſe; and now we began to think of breaking out by a lane which led from the back ſide of the inn; but a new accident determined us another, though a worſe, way.

The enemy being entered, and our men cooped up in the yards of the inns, colonel Spencer, the other colonel whoſe regiment of horſe lay alſo in the town, had got on horſeback before us, and engaged with the enemy; but, being overpowered, retreated fighting, and ſent to Sir Nicholas Criſp for help.

Sir Nicholas, moved to ſee the diſtreſs of his friend, turning to me, ſaid, "What can we do "for him?"

I replied, I thought it was time to help him, if poſſible; upon which, opening the inn gates, we ſallied out in very good order, about three hundred horſe; and ſeveral of the troops from other parts of the town joining us, we recovered colonel Spencer, and, charging home, beat back the enemy to their main body; but finding their foot drawn up in the church yard, and ſeveral detachments moving to charge us, we retreated in as good order as we could.

They did not think fit to purſue us; but they took all the carriages which were under the convoy of this party, and loaden with proviſions and ammunition, and above five hundred of our horſe. The foot ſhifted away as well as they could. Thus we made off in a ſhattered condition towards Farringdon, and ſo to Oxford; and I was very glad my regiment was not there.

We had ſmall reſt at Oxford, or indeed any where elſe, for the king had marched from thence, and we followed him. I was ſomething uneaſy at my abſence from my regiment, and did not know how the king might reſent it, which cauſed me to ride after them with all expedition. But the armies were engaged that very day at Newbury, and I came in too late.

I had not behaved myſelf ſo as to be ſuſpected of a wilful ſhunning the action; but a colonel of a regiment ought to avoid abſence from his regiment in time of fight, be the excuſe ever ſo juſt, as carefully as he would a ſurpriſe in his quarters.

The truth is, it was an error of my own, and owing to two days ſtay I made at the Bath, where I met with ſome ladies who were my relations: and this is far from being an excuſe; for if king Charles had been a Guſtavus Adolphus, I had certainly received a check for it.

This fight was very obſtinate; and could our horſe have come to action as freely as the foot, the parliament army had ſuffered much more, for we had here a much better body of horſe than they, and we never failed beating them where the weight of the work lay upon the horſe.

Here the city trained bands, of which there were two regiments, and whom we uſed to deſpiſe, fought very well: they loſt one of their colonels

and ſeveral officers in the action; and I heard our men ſay they behaved themſelves as well as any forces the parliament had.

The parliament cried victory here too, as they always did; and indeed where the foot were concerned they had the advantage, but our horſe defeated them evidently. The king drew up his army in battalia, in perſon, and faced them all the next day, inviting them to renew the fight; but they had no inclination to come on again.

It was a kind of hedge fight, for neither army was drawn out in the field; if it had, it would never have held from ſix in the morning to ten at night: but they fought for advantages—ſometimes one ſide had the better, ſometimes the other: they fought twice through the town, in at one end, and out at the other, and in the hedges and lanes, with exceeding fury.

The king loſt the moſt men, his foot having ſuffered for want of the ſuccour of their horſe, who, on two ſeveral occaſions, could not come at them: but the parliament foot ſuffered alſo, and two regiments were entirely cut in pieces, and the king kept the field.

Eſſex, the parliament general, had the pillage of the dead, and left us to bury them; for while we ſtood all day to our arms, having given them a fair field to fight us in, their camp rabble ſtripped the dead bodies, and they, not daring to venture a

ſecond engagement, marched away towards London.

The king loſt in this action the earls of Carnarvon and Sunderland, the lord Falkland, a French marquis, and ſome very gallant officers, and about twelve hundred men. The earl of Carnarvon was brought into an inn in Newbury, where the king came to ſee him. He had juſt life enough to ſpeak to his majeſty, and died in his preſence.

The king was exceedingly concerned for him, and was obſerved to ſhed tears. We were indeed all of us troubled for the loſs of ſo brave a gentleman; but the concern our royal maſter diſcovered moved us exceedingly. Every body endeavoured to have the king out of the room; but he could not be prevailed upon to ſtir from the bed ſide till one of the ſurgeons acquainted his majeſty that all hopes of life were gone, and he immediately expired.

The indefatigable induſtry of the king, his ſervants, and friends, continually to ſupply and recruit his forces, and to haraſs and fatigue the enemy, was ſuch, that we ſhould ſtill have given a very good account of the war, had the Scots ſtood neuter; but bad news came every day from the north. As for other places, parties were always in action: Sir William Waller and Sir Ralph Hopton beat one another by turns; and Sir Ralph had extended the king's quarters from Launceſton

in Cornwall to Farnham in Surry, where he gave Sir William a rub, and drove him into the caſtle.

But in the north the ſtorm grew thick; the Scots advanced to the borders, and entered England, in confederacy with the parliament, againſt their king, for which the parliament requited them afterwards as they deſerved.

Had it not been for this Scotch army, the parliament had eaſily been reduced to terms of peace; but after this they never made any propoſals fit for the king to receive. Want of ſucceſs before had made them differ among themſelves: Eſſex and Waller were ever at variance; the earl of Manchester and the lord Willoughby differed to the higheſt degree; and the king's affairs went never the worſe for it.

But this ſtorm in the north ruined us all; for the Scots prevailed in Yorkſhire, and being joined by Fairfax, Manchester, and Cromwell, carried all before them; ſo that the king was obliged to ſend prince Rupert, with a body of four thouſand horſe, to the aſſiſtance of the earl of Newcaſtle, where that prince finiſhed the deſtruction of the king's intereſt by a raſh and unaccountable action, of which I ſhall ſpeak in its place.

Another action, on the part of the king, gave great offence, which was the calling the Scots into the nation, for even the king's own friends diſliked it, and was carefully improved by his ene-

mies, to the diſadvantage of the king, and of his cauſe.

The rebels in Ireland had, ever ſince the bloody maſſacre of the Proteſtants, maintained a war againſt the Engliſh, and the earl of Ormond was general and governor for the king. The king, finding his affairs pinch him at home, ſent orders to the earl of Ormond to agree to a ceſſation of arms with the rebels, and to ſhip over certain of his regiments hither to his majeſty's aſſiſtance.

It is true the Iriſh had deſerved to be very ill treated by the Engliſh; but while the parliament preſſed the king with a cruel and unnatural war at home, and called in an army out of Scotland to ſupport their quarrel with their king, I could never be convinced that it was ſuch a diſhonourable action for the king to ſuſpend the correction of his Iriſh rebels till he was in a capacity to do it with ſafety to himſelf, or to delay any farther aſſiſtance to preſerve himſelf here; and the troops he recalled being his own, it was no breach of his honour to make uſe of them, ſince he now wanted them for his own ſecurity againſt thoſe who fought againſt him at home.

But the king was perſuaded to take one ſtep farther, and that, I confeſs, was unpleaſing to us all, and ſome of his beſt and moſt faithful ſervants took the freedom to ſpeak plainly to him of it, and that was bringing ſome regiments of the Iriſh themſelves

over. This caſt, as we thought, an odium upon our whole nation, being ſome of thoſe very wretches who had dipped their hands in the innocent blood of the Proteſtants, and with unheard-of butcheries had maſſacred ſo many thouſands of Engliſh in cool blood.

Abundance of gentlemen forſook the king upon this account; and, ſeeing they could not brook the fighting in conjunction with this wicked generation, came into the declaration of the parliament, and, making compoſition for their eſtates, lived retired all the reſt of the war, or went abroad.

But as exigencies and neceſſities oblige us to do things which at other times we would not do, and is, as to man, ſome excuſe for the doing ſuch things; ſo I cannot but think the guilt and diſhonour of ſuch an action muſt lie, very much of it at leaſt, at their doors who drove the king to theſe neceſſities and diſtreſſes by calling in an army of his own ſubjects whom he had not injured, but had complied with them in every thing, to make war upon him without any provocation.

As to the quarrel between the king and his parliament, there may ſomething be ſaid on both ſides; and the king ſaw cauſe himſelf to diſown and diſlike ſome things he had done, which the parliament objected againſt, ſuch as levying money without conſent of parliament, infractions on their privileges, and the like. Here, I ſay, was ſome room

for an argument at leaſt, and conceſſions on both ſides were needful to come to a peace; but for the Scots, all their demands had been anſwered, all their grievances had been redreſſed: they had made articles with their ſovereign, and he had performed thoſe articles; their capital enemy, epiſcopacy, was aboliſhed; they had not one thing to demand of the king which he had not granted, and therefore they had no more cauſe to take up arms againſt their ſovereign than they had againſt the Grand Seignior. But it muſt for ever lie againſt them as a brand of infamy, and as a reproach on their whole nation, that, purchaſed by the parliament's money, they ſold their honeſty, and rebelled againſt their king for hire; and it was not many years before, as I have ſaid already, they were fully paid the wages of their unrighteouſneſs, and chaſtiſed for their treachery by the very ſame people whom they thus baſely aſſiſted; then they would have retrieved it, if it had not been too late.

But I could not but accuſe this age of injuſtice and partiality, who, while they reproached the king for his ceſſation of arms with the Iriſh rebels, and not proſecuting them with the utmoſt ſeverity, though he was conſtrained by the neceſſity of the war to do it, could yet, at the ſame time, juſtify the Scots taking up arms in a quarrel they had no concern in, and againſt their own king, with whom they had articled and capitulated, and who had ſo

punctually complied with all their demands, that they had no claim upon him, no grievances to be redreſſed, no oppreſſion to cry out of, nor could aſk any thing of him which he had not granted.

But as no action in the world is ſo vile but the actors can conceal with ſome ſpecious pretence, ſo the Scots, now paſſing into England, publiſhed a declaration to juſtify their aſſiſting the parliament; to which I ſhall only ſay, in my opinion, it was no juſtification at all; for, admitting the parliament's quarrel had been ever ſo juſt, it could not be juſt in them to aid them, becauſe it was againſt their own king too, to whom they had ſworn allegiance, or, at leaſt, had crowned him, and thereby had recogniſed his authority.

For if mal-adminiſtration be, according to Prynn's doctrine, or according to their own Buchanan, a ſufficient reaſon for ſubjects to take up arms againſt their prince, the breach of his coronation oath being ſuppoſed to diſſolve the oath of allegiance; yet this can never be extended to make it lawful, that becauſe a king of England may, by mal-adminiſtration, diſcharge the ſubjects of England from their allegiance, that therefore the ſubjects of Scotland may take up arms againſt the king of Scotland, he having not infringed the compact of government as to them, and they having nothing to complain of for themſelves.

Thus I thought their own arguments were

againſt them, and Heaven ſeemed to concur with it; for although they did carry the cauſe for the Engliſh rebels, yet the moſt of them left their bones here in the quarrel.

But what ſignifies reaſon to the drum and the trumpet? The parliament had the ſupreme argument with thoſe men—the money; and having accordingly advanced a good round ſum, upon payment of this, for the Scots would not ſtir a foot without it, they entered England on the 15th of January, 1643, with an army of twelve thouſand men, under the command of general Leſley, now earl of Leven, an old ſoldier of great experience, having been bred to arms, from his youth, in the ſervice of the prince of Orange.

The Scots were no ſooner entered England but they were joined by all the friends to the parliament party in the north; and firſt, colonel Grey, brother to the lord Grey, joined them with a regiment of horſe, and ſeveral out of Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, and they advanced to Newcaſtle, which they ſummoned to ſurrender.

The earl of Newcaſtle, who rather ſaw than was able to prevent the ſtorm, was in Newcaſtle, and did his beſt to defend it; but the Scots, increaſed by this time to above twenty thouſand, laid cloſe ſiege to the place, which was but meanly fortified, and having repulſed the garriſon upon ſeveral ſallies, and preſſing the place very cloſe,

after a ſiege of twelve days they entered the town ſword in hand.

The earl of Newcaſtle got away, and afterwards gathered what forces together he could; but not ſtrong enough to hinder the Scots from advancing to Durham, which he quitted to them, nor to hinder the conjunction of the Scots with the forces of Fairfax, Manchester, and Cromwell.

Whereupon the earl ſeeing all things thus going to wreck, he ſent his horſe away, and retreated with his foot into York, making all neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence there, in caſe he ſhould be attacked, which he was pretty ſure of, as indeed afterwards happened. York was in a very good poſture of defence: the fortifications very regular, and exceeding ſtrong; well furniſhed with proviſions, and had now a garriſon of twelve thouſand men in it. The governor, under the earl of Newcaſtle, was Sir Thomas Glemham, a good ſoldier, and a gentleman of great courage.

The Scots, as I have ſaid, having taken Durham, Tynemouth caſtle, and Sunderland, and being joined by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had taken Selby, reſolved, with their united ſtrength, to beſiege York; but when they came to view the city, and ſaw a plan of the works, and had intelligence of the ſtrength of the garriſon, they ſent expreſſes to Manchester and Cromwell for help, who came

on and joined them with nine thouſand, making together about thirty thouſand men.

The earl of Newcaſtle's repeated meſſengers had now convinced the king that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſend ſome forces to his aſſiſtance, or elſe all would be loſt in the north. Whereupon prince Rupert was detached with orders firſt to go into Lancaſhire, and relieve Latham houſe, defended by the brave counteſs of Derby; and then, taking all the forces he could collect in Cheſhire, Lancaſhire, and Yorkſhire, to march to relieve York.

The prince marched from Oxford with but three regiments of horſe, and one of dragoons, making in all about two thouſand eight hundred men. The colonels of horſe were, Charles Goring, the lord Biron, and myſelf; the dragoons were commanded by colonel Smith.

In our march we were joined by a regiment of horſe from Banbury, one of dragoons from Briſtol, and three regiments of horſe from Cheſter; ſo that when we came into Lancaſhire we were about five thouſand horſe and dragoons. The horſe we received from Cheſter were thoſe who, having been at the ſiege of Nantwich, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege by Sir Thomas Fairfax: and the foot having yielded, the horſe made good their retreat to Cheſter, being about two thouſand, of whom three regiments now joined us.

We received alſo two thouſand foot from Weſt-Cheſter, and two thouſand more out of Wales, and with this ſtrength we entered Lancaſhire. We had not much time to ſpend, and a great deal of work to do.

Bolton and Liverpool felt the firſt fury of the prince: at Bolton, indeed, he had ſome provocation, for here we were like to be beaten off. When firſt the prince came to Bolton he ſent a ſummons to demand the town for the king; but received no anſwer but from their guns, commanding the meſſenger to keep off at his peril.

They had raiſed ſome works about the town; and having by their intelligence learned that we had no artillery, and were only a flying party, ſo they called us, they contemned the ſummons, and ſhewed themſelves upon their ramparts ready for us. The prince was reſolved to humble them, if poſſible, and took up his quarters cloſe to the town.

In the evening he ordered me to advance with one regiment of dragoons, and my horſe to bring them off, if occaſion was, and to poſt myſelf as near as poſſibly I could to the lines, yet ſo as not to be diſcovered; and at the ſame time having concluded what part of the works to fall upon, he drew up his men on two other ſides, as if he would ſtorm them there, and on a ſignal I was to begin the real aſſault on my ſide with my dragoons.

I had got ſo near the town with my dragoons,

making them creep upon their bellies a great way, that we could hear the ſoldiers talk on the walls, when the prince, believing one regiment would be too few, ſent me word that he had ordered a regiment of foot to help, and that I ſhould not diſcover myſelf till they were come up to me. This broke our meaſures; for the march of this regiment was diſcovered by the enemy, and they took the alarm.

Upon this I ſent to the prince to deſire he would put off the ſtorm for that night, and I would anſwer for it the next day; but the prince was impatient, and ſent orders we ſhould fall on as ſoon as the foot came up to us. The foot, marching out of the way, miſſed us, and fell in with a road that leads to another part of the town, and not being able to find us, made an attack upon the town themſelves; but the defendants being ready for them, received them very warmly, and beat them off with great deſtruction.

I was at a loſs now what to do; for hearing the guns, and by the noiſe knowing it was an aſſault upon the town, I was very uneaſy to have my ſhare in it; but as I had learned under the king of Sweden punctually to adhere to the execution of orders, and my orders being to lye ſtill till the foot came up with me, I would not have ſtirred if I had been ſure to have done ever ſo much ſervice; but, however, to ſatisfy myſelf, I ſent to the prince to let

him know that I continued in the ſame place expecting the foot, and none being yet come, I deſired farther orders.

The prince was greatly amazed at this, and, finding there muſt be ſome miſtake, came galloping away in the dark to the place, and drew off the men, which was no hard matter, for they were willing enough to give it over.

As for me, the prince ordered me to come off ſo privately as not to be diſcovered, if poſſible, which I effectually did; and ſo we were diſappointed for that night. The next day the prince fell on upon another quarter with three regiments of foot, but was beaten off with loſs; and the like a third time.

At laſt the prince, reſolving to carry it, doubled his numbers, and renewing the attack with freſh men, the foot entered the town over their works, killing, in the firſt heat of the action, all that came in their way; ſome of the foot, at the ſame time, letting in the horſe; and ſo the town was entirely won. There were about ſix hundred of the enemy killed, and we loſt above four hundred, which was owing to the fooliſh miſtakes we made. Our men got ſome plunder here which the parliament made a great noiſe about; but it was their due, and they bought it dear enough.

Liverpool did not coſt us ſo much, nor did we get ſo much by it, the people having ſent their

women and children, and beſt goods, on board the ſhips in the road, and as we had no boats to board them with, we could not get at them. Here, as at Bolton, the town and fort were taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon were many of them cut in pieces, which, by the way, was their own faults.

Our next ſtop was at Latham houſe, which the counteſs of Derby had gallantly defended above eighteen weeks againſt the parliament forces; and this lady not only encouraged her men by her cheerful and noble maintenance of them, but by examples of her own undaunted ſpirit, expoſing herſelf upon the walls in the midſt of the enemy's ſhot, would be with her men in the greateſt dangers; and ſhe well deſerved our care of her perſon, for the enemy were prepared to uſe her very rudely if ſhe fell into their hands.

Upon our approach the enemy drew off; and the prince not only effectually relieved this vigorous lady, but left her a good quantity of all ſorts of ammunition, three great guns, five hundred arms, and two hundred men, commanded by a major, as her extraordinary guard.

Here the way being now opened, and our ſucceſs anſwering our expectations, ſeveral bodies of foot came in to us from Weſtmoreland, and from Cumberland; and here it was that the prince found means to ſurpriſe the town of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, which was recovered for the king by the

management of the mayor of the town, and ſome other loyal gentlemen of the county, and a garriſon placed there again for the king.

But our main deſign being the relief of York, the prince advanced that way apace, his army ſtill increaſing; and being joined by the lord Goring from Richmond with four thouſand horſe, which were the ſame the earl of Newcaſtle had ſent away when he threw himſelf into York with the infantry, we were now eighteen thouſand effective men, of which ten thouſand were horſe and dragoons; ſo the prince, full of hopes, and his men in good heart, boldly marched directly for York.

The Scots, as much ſurpriſed at the taking of Newcaſtle as at the coming of their enemy, began to inquire which way they ſhould get home, if they ſhould be beaten; and calling a council of war, they all agreed to raiſe the ſiege. The prince, who drew with him a great train of carriages, charged with proviſion and ammunition for the relief of the city, like a wary general, kept at a diſtance from the enemy, and fetching a great compaſs about, brought all ſafe into the city, and entered York with all his army.

No action of the whole war would have gained the prince ſo much honour, or the king's affairs ſo much advantage, had the prince but reſtrained his courage after this, and checked his fatal eagerneſs for fighting. Here was a ſiege raiſed, the reputa-

tion of the enemy juſtly ſlurred, a city relieved, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary, in the face of an army ſuperior in number by near ten thouſand men, and commanded by a triumvirate of thoſe veteran generals, Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester.

Had the prince but remembered the proceeding of the great duke of Parma at the relief of Paris, he would have ſeen the relieving the city was his buſineſs: it was the enemy's buſineſs to fight: it was his to avoid it, if poſſible; for, having delivered the city, and put the diſgrace of raiſing the ſiege upon the enemy, he had nothing farther to do, but to have waited till he had ſeen what courſe the enemy would take, and purſued his farther meaſures from their motion.

But the prince, a continual friend to precipitant councils, would hear no advice. I entreated him not to put it to the hazard: I told him, that he ought to conſider, if he loſt the day, he loſt the kingdom, and took the crown off from the king's head. I put him in mind that it was impoſſible thoſe three generals ſhould continue long together; and that if they did, they would not agree long in their councils, which would be as well for us as their ſeparating.

It was plain Manchester and Cromwell muſt return to the aſſociated counties, who would not ſuffer them to ſtay, for fear the king ſhould at-

tempt them: that he could ſubſiſt well enough, having York city and river at his back. As to the Scots, they would eat up the country, make themſelves odious, and dwindle away to nothing, if he would but hold them at bay a little. Other general officers were of the ſame opinion; but all I could ſay, or they either, to a man deaf to any thing but his own courage, ſignified little. He would draw out and fight; there was no perſuading him to the contrary, unleſs a man would run the riſk of being upbraided with being a coward, and afraid of the work.

The enemy's army lay on a large common, called Marſton Moor, doubtful what to do: ſome were for fighting the prince; the Scots were againſt it, being uneaſy at having the garriſon of Newcaſtle at their backs; but the prince brought their councils of war to a reſult, for he let them know they muſt fight him whether they would or not; for the prince being, as before, eighteen thouſand men ſtrong, and the earl of Newcaſtle having joined him with eight thouſand foot out of the city, were marched in queſt of the enemy, had entered the moor in view of their army, and began to draw up in order of battle; but the night coming on, the armies only viewed each other at a diſtance for that time.

We lay all night upon our arms, and with the firſt of the day were in order of battle: the enemy

was getting ready; but part of Manchester's men were not in the field, but lay about three miles off, and made a hasty march to come up.

Prince Rupert's army was exceedingly well managed: he himself commanded the left, the earl of Newcastle the right wing; and the lord Goring, as general of the foot, assisted by major-general Porter and Sir Charles Lucas, led the main battle.

I had prevailed with the prince, according to the method of the king of Sweden, to place some small bodies of musqueteers in the intervals of his horse in the left wing, but could not prevail upon the earl of Newcastle to do it in the right, which he afterwards repented.

In this posture we stood facing the enemy, expecting they would advance to us, which at last they did; and the prince began the day by saluting them with his artillery, which being well placed, galled them terribly for a quarter of an hour: they could not shift their front, so they advanced hastily to get within our great guns, and consequently out of their danger, which brought the fight the sooner on.

The enemy's army was ordered thus:—Sir Thomas Fairfax had the right wing, in which was the Scots horse, and the horse of his own and his father's army; Cromwell led the left wing with his own and the earl of Manchester's horse; and the

three generals, Leſley, old Fairfax, and Mancheſter, led the main battle.

The prince, with our left wing, fell on firſt, and, with his uſual fury, broke, like a clap of thunder, into the right wing of the Scots horſe, led by Sir Thomas Fairfax; and, as nothing could ſtand in his way, he broke through and through, and entirely routed them, purſuing them quite out of the field.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, with a regiment of lancers, and about five hundred of his own horſe, made good the ground for ſome time; but our muſqueteers, which, as I ſaid, were ſo placed, were ſuch an unlooked-for ſort of an article in a fight among the horſe, that thoſe lancers, which otherwiſe were brave fellows, were mowed down with their ſhot, and all was put into confuſion.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was wounded in the face, his brother killed, and a great ſlaughter was made of the Scots, to whom, I confeſs, we ſhewed no favour.

While this was doing on our left, the lord Goring, with the main battle, charged the enemy's foot, and particularly one brigade, commanded by major-general Porter, being moſtly pikemen, not regarding the fire of the enemy, charged with that fury in a cloſe body of pikes, that they overturned all that came in their way, and, breaking into the middle of the enemy's foot, filled all with

terror and confuſion, inſomuch that the three generals, thinking all had been loſt, fled, and quitted the field.

But matters went not ſo well with that always-unfortunate gentleman, the earl of Newcaſtle, and our right wing of horſe, for Cromwell charged the earl of Newcaſtle with a powerful body of horſe; and though the earl and thoſe about him did what men could do, and behaved themſelves with all poſſible gallantry, yet there was no withſtanding Cromwell's horſe; but, like prince Rupert, they bore down all before them: and now the victory was wrung out of our hands by our own groſs miſcarriage; for the prince, as it was his cuſtom, too eager in the chaſe of the enemy, was gone, and could not be heard of.

The foot in the center, the right wing of the horſe being routed by Cromwell, was left, and without the guard of his horſe; Cromwell having routed the earl of Newcaſtle, and beaten him quite out of the field, and Sir Thomas Fairfax rallying his diſperſed troops, they fell all together upon the foot.

General lord Goring, like himſelf, fought like a lion; but, forſaken of his horſe, was hemmed in on all ſides, and overthrown; and an hour after this, the prince returning too late to recover his friends, was obliged, with the reſt, to quit the field to conquerors.

This was a fatal day to the king's affairs, and the riſk too much for any man in his wits to run. We loſt four thouſand men on the ſpot, three thouſand priſoners, amongſt whom was Sir Charles Lucas, major-general Porter, major-general Tellier, and about one hundred and ſeventy gentlemen of quality. We loſt all our baggage, twenty-five pieces of cannon, three hundred carriages, one hundred and fifty barrels of powder, and ten thouſand arms.

The prince got into York with the earl of Newcaſtle and a great many gentlemen, and ſeven or eight thouſand of the men, as well horſe as foot.

I had but very coarſe treatment in this battle; for, returning with the prince from the purſuit of the right wing, and finding all loſt, I halted with ſome other officers to conſider what to do: at firſt we were for making our retreat in a body, and might have done ſo well enough, if we had known what had happened, before we ſaw ourſelves in the middle of the enemy; for Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had got together his ſcattered troops, and joined by ſome of the left wing, knowing who we were, charged us with great fury.

It was not a time to think of any thing but getting away, or dying upon the ſpot. The prince kept on in the front, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, by this charge, cut off about three regiments of us from our body; but, bending his main ſtrength at

the prince, left us, as it were, behind him in the middle of the field of battle. We took this for the only opportunity we could have to get off, and, joining together, we made acroſs the place of battle in as good order as we could, with our carbines preſented.

In this poſture we paſſed by ſeveral bodies of the enemy's foot, who ſtood with their pikes charged to keep us off; but they had no occaſion, for we had no deſign to meddle with them, but to get from them. Thus we made a ſwift march, and thought ourſelves pretty ſecure: but our work was not done yet; for, on a ſudden, we ſaw ourſelves under a neceſſity of fighting our way through a great body of Mancheſter's horſe, who came galloping upon us over the moor. They had, as we ſuppoſe, been purſuing ſome of our broken troops which were fled before, and, ſeeing us, they gave us a home charge.

We received them as well as we could, but puſhed to get through them, which at laſt we did with a conſiderable loſs even to them. However, we had ſo many men either killed or ſeparated from us, for all could not follow the ſame way, that of our three regiments we could not be above four hundred horſe together when we got quite clear, and theſe were mixed men, ſome of one troop and regiment, ſome of another.

Not that I believe many of us were killed in the

laſt attack, for we had plainly the better of the enemy; but our deſign being to get off, ſome ſhifted for themſelves one way, and ſome another, in the beſt manner they could, and as their ſeveral fortunes guided them. Four hundred more of this body, as I afterwards underſtood, having broke through the enemy's body another way, kept together, and got into Pontefract caſtle; and three hundred more made northward and to Skippon, where the prince afterwards fetched them off.

Thoſe few of us that were left together with whom I was, being now pretty clear of purſuit, halted, and began to inquire who and who we were, and what we ſhould do; and, on a ſhort debate, I propoſed we ſhould make to the firſt garriſon of the king's that we could recover, and that we ſhould keep together, leſt the country people ſhould inſult us upon the roads. With this reſolution we puſhed on weſtward for Lancaſhire; but our miſfortunes were not yet at an end: we travelled very hard, and got to a village upon the river Wharf, near Wetherby.

At Wetherby there was a bridge; but we underſtood that a party from Leeds had ſecured the town and the poſt, in order to ſtop the flying cavaliers, and that it would be very hard to get through there, though, as we underſtood afterwards, there were no ſoldiers there, but a guard of the townſmen. In this dilemma we conſulted what courſe

to take: to ſtay where we were till morning, we all concluded would not be ſafe: ſome adviſed to take the ſtream with our horſes; but the river being deep, and the current ſtrong, ſeemed to bid us have a care what we did of that kind, eſpecially in the night.

Here we intended to refreſh ourſelves and our horſes, but were terribly diſappointed; therefore we reſolved to go on till we ſhould come to a ford or bridge, where we might get over. Some guides we had, but they either were fooliſh or falſe; for after we had rid eight or nine miles they plunged us into a river at a place they called a ford, but it was a very bad one; and though our horſes ſwam, yet ſeven or eight were loſt; but, however, we ſaved the men, and we all got over.

We made bold with our firſt convenience to treſpaſs upon the country for a few horſes, where we could find them, to remount our men whoſe horſes were drowned, and continued our march; but being obliged to refreſh ourſelves at a ſmall village on the edge of Branham moor, we found the country alarmed by our taking thoſe horſes, and we were no ſooner mounted in the morning, and entering on the moor, but we underſtood we were purſued by a troop of horſe.

There was no remedy but we muſt paſs this moor; and though our horſes were exceedingly tired, yet we preſſed on upon a round trot, and

recovered an encloſed country on the other ſide, where we halted.

And here, neceſſity putting us upon it, we were obliged to look out for more horſes, for ſeveral of our men were diſmounted, and others had their horſes diſabled by carrying double, thoſe who having loſt their horſes getting up behind them.

The enemy followed us over the moor, and we having a woody encloſed country about us, where we were, I obſerved by their moving, they had loſt ſight of us; upon which I propoſed concealing ourſelves till we might judge of their numbers. We did ſo, and lying cloſe in a wood, they paſſed haſtily by us, without ſkirting or ſearching the wood, which was what, on another occaſion, they would not have done.

I found they were not above one hundred and fifty horſe, and conſidering that to let them go before us would be to alarm the country, and ſtop our deſign, I thought, ſince we might be able to deal with them, we ſhould not meet with a better place for it, and told the reſt of our officers my mind, which all our party preſently, for we had not time for a long debate, agreed to.

Immediately upon this I cauſed two men to fire their piſtols in the wood, at two different places, as far aſunder as I could. This I did to give them an alarm, and amuſe them; for, being in the lane, they would otherwiſe have got through before we

had been ready, and I reſolved to engage them there as ſoon as it was poſſible.

After this alarm we ruſhed out of the wood with about one hundred horſe, and charged them on the flank in a broad lane, the wood being on their right. Our paſſage into the lane being narrow, gave us ſome difficulty in our getting out; but the ſurpriſe of the charge did our work; for the enemy thinking we had been a mile or too before, had not the leaſt thought of this onſet, till they had heard us in the wood, and then they who were before could not come back.

We broke into the lane juſt in the middle of them, and by that means divided them; and facing to the left, charged the rear. Firſt our diſmounted men, which were near fifty, lined the edge of the wood, and fired with their carbines upon thoſe which were before, ſo warmly, that they put them into great diſorder.

Meanwhile fifty more of our horſe from the farther part of the wood ſhewed themſelves in the lane upon their front; this put them of the foremoſt party into a great perplexity, and they began to face about, to fall upon us who were engaged in the rear, but their facing about in a lane where there was no room to wheel, and one who underſtands the manner of wheeling a troop of horſe, muſt imagine, put them into great diſorder.

Our party in the head of the lane taking the ad-

vantage of this miſtake of the enemy, charged in upon them, and routed them entirely. Some found means to break into the encloſures on the other ſide of the lane, and got away. About thirty were killed, and about twenty-five made priſoners, and forty very good horſes were taken; all this while not a man of ours was loſt, and not above ſeven or eight wounded.

Thoſe in the rear behaved themſelve better: for they ſtood our charge with a great deal of reſolution, and all we could do could not break them; but at laſt our men who had fired on foot through the hedges at the other party, coming to do the like here, there was no ſtanding it any longer. The rear of them faced about, and retreated out of the lane, and drew up in the open field to receive and rally their fellows.

We killed about ſeventeen of them, and followed them to the end of the lane, but had no mind to have any more fighting than needs muſt; our condition at that time not making it proper, the towns round us being all in the enemy's hands, and the country but indifferently pleaſed with us; however, we ſtood facing them till they thought fit to march away.

Thus we were ſupplied with horſes enow to remount our men, by our enemies againſt their will, and purſued our firſt deſign of getting into Lanca-

ſhire. As for our priſoners, we let them go off on foot.

But the country being by this time alarmed, and the rout of our army every where known, we foreſaw abundance of difficulties before us; we were not ſtrong enough to venture into any great towns, and we were too many to be concealed in ſmall ones. Upon this we reſolved to halt in a great wood about three miles beyond the place, where we had the laſt ſkirmiſh, and ſent out ſcouts to diſcover the country, and learn what they could, either of the enemy, or of our friends.

Any body may ſuppoſe we had but indifferent quarters here, either for ourſelves or for our horſes; but however, we made ſhift to lie here two days and one night.

In the interim I took upon me, with two more, to go to Leeds to learn ſome news; we were diſguiſed like country ploughmen; the clothes we got at a farmer's houſe, which for that particular occaſion we plundered. I cannot ſay no blood was ſhed in a manner too raſh, and which I would not have done at any other time; but our caſe was deſperate, and the people too ſurly, and ſhot at us out of their windows, wounded one man and ſhot a horſe, which we counted as great a loſs to us as a man, for our ſafety depended upon our horſes.

Here we got clothes of all ſorts enough for both

ſexes, and thus dreſſing myſelf up like a peaſant, with a white cap on my head, and a fork on my ſhoulder, and one of my comrades in the farmer's wife's ruſſet gown and petticoat, like a woman; the other with an old crutch like a lame man, and all mounted on ſuch horſes as we had taken the day before from the country. Away we went for Leeds, by three ſeveral ways, and agreed to meet upon the bridge.

My pretended countrywoman, who was to paſs for my wife, ſeemed eaſy in her dreſs, as did alſo the cripple, though they were both gentlemen of good quality of the earl of Worceſter's family; but I thought myſelf very aukward in mine, which made me very ſhy, eſpecially among the ſoldiers. We paſſed their centinels and guards at Leeds undiſcovered, and put up our horſes at ſeveral houſes in the town, from whence we went up and down to make our remarks.

My cripple was the fitteſt to go among the ſoldiers, becauſe there was leſs danger of his being preſſed: there he informed himſelf of the matters of war, particularly that the enemy ſat down again to the ſiege of York: that flying parties were in purſuit of the cavaliers; and there he heard that five hundred horſe of the lord Mancheſter's men had followed a party of cavaliers over Branham moor; and, that entering a lane, the cavaliers, who were

a thouſand ſtrong, fell upon them, and killed them all but about fifty.

This, though it was an untruth, was very pleaſant to us to hear, knowing it was our party, becauſe of the other part of the ſtory, which was thus; that the cavaliers had taken poſſeſſion of ſuch a wood, where they rallied all the troops of their flying army; that they had plundered the country as they came, taking all the horſes they could get; that they had plundered goodman Thompſon's houſe, which was the farmer I mentioned, and killed man, woman and child; and that they were about two thouſand ſtrong.

My other friend in woman's clothes got among the good wives at the inn where ſhe ſet up her horſe, and there ſhe heard the ſame ſad and dreadful tidings; and that this party was ſo ſtrong, none of the neighbouring garriſons durſt ſtir out; but that they had ſent expreſſes to York for a party of horſe to come to their aſſiſtance.

I walked up and down the town, but fancied myſelf ſo ill diſguiſed, and ſo eaſy to be known, that I cared not to talk with any body. We met at the bridge exactly at our time, and compared our intelligence, found it anſwered our end of coming, and that we had nothing to do but to get back to our men; but my cripple told me he would not ſtir till he bought ſome victuals; ſo away he hopped with his crutch, and bought four or five great pieces

of bacon, as many of hung beef, and two or three loaves; and borrowing a ſack at the inn, which he never returned, he loaded his horſe, and, getting a large leather bottle, he filled it with aqua-vitæ inſtead of ſmall beer; as did my woman comrade the ſame.

I was uneaſy in my mind, and took no care but to get out of the town; however, we all came off well enough; but 'twas well that I had no proviſions with me, as you will preſently hear.

We came, as I ſaid, into the town by ſeveral ways, and ſo we went out; but about three miles from the town we met again exactly where we had agreed: I being about a quarter of a mile from the reſt, I met three country fellows on horſeback; one had a long pole on his ſhoulder, another a fork, the third no weapon at all that I ſaw: I gave them the road very orderly, being habited like one of their brethren; but one of them ſtopping ſhort and looking earneſtly at me, called out in a broad north-country tone, "Hark thee, friend, what haſt thou "thilk horſe?"

I confeſs I was in ſome confuſion, neither being able to anſwer the queſtion nor to ſpeak in his tone; ſo I behaved as if I had not heard him, and went on.

Upon this the clown immediately came up to me, and taking hold of my horſe's bridle, ſaid, "Na, "but ye's not gang ſoa;" at which, vexed that I

could not talk to the fellow in his own dialect, I reached him a knock on the pate with my fork, which brought him from his horſe, and then began to mend my pace; the other clowns, though they knew not what the fellow wanted, purſued me, and finding they had better heels than I, I ſaw there was no remedy but to make uſe of my hands, and faced about.

The firſt that came up with me was he that had no weapon, ſo I thought I might parley with him; and ſpeaking as country like as I could, I aſked him what he wanted?

"Thou'ſt knaw that ſoon, and Iſe but come at "thee."

I immediately replied, "Then keep awa, mon, "or Iſe brain thee."

By this time the third man came up, and the parley ended; for he gave me no words, but laid at me with his long pole, and that with ſuch fury, that I began to be doubtful of him.

Though I had piſtols under my gray frock, I was loath to ſhoot the fellow, as well for that the noiſe of a piſtol might bring more people in, the village being on our rear; and alſo becauſe I could not imagine what the fellow meant, or would have; but at laſt finding he would be too many for me with that long weapon, I threw myſelf off my horſe, and running in with him, ſtabbed my fork into his horſe's belly; the horſe being wounded, ſtaggered

a while, and then fell, and the booby had not the ſenſe to get down in time, but fell with him; upon which giving him a knock or two with my fork, I ſecured him.

The other, by this time, had furniſhed himſelf with a great ſtick out of a hedge; and, before I was diſengaged from the laſt fellow, gave me two ſuch blows, that if they had been upon my head, inſtead of my ſhoulder, I had ended the fight and my life together.

It was time to look about me now, for this was a madman; I defended myſelf with my fork, but it would not do; at laſt, in ſhort, I was forced to piſtol him; and getting on horſe-back again, with all the ſpeed I could make, got away to the wood to our men.

If my two fellow ſpies had not been behind, I had never known what was the meaning of this quarrel of the three countrymen, but my cripple had all the particulars; for he being behind us, as I have already obſerved, when he came up to the firſt fellow who began the fray, he found him beginning to come to himſelf; ſo he got off, and pretending to help him, he put him up upon his breech, and being a very facetious fellow, ſaid, "Well, and "what's the matter now?"

"Ah, wae's me," replied the clown, "I is "killed."

"Not quite, mon," ſaid Cripple, ſmiling.

"Oh that's a fau thief," meaning me, and thus they parlied.

Cripple then got him upon his feet, and gave him a dram of his aqua-vitæ bottle, and made much of him, in order to know what was the occaſion of the quarrel. Our diſguiſed woman ſeemingly pitied the fellow too, and they ſet him up again upon his horſe, and then told him that fellow, ſtill meaning me, was got upon one of his brother's horſes, who lived at Wetherby.

They, to humour him, ſaid the cavaliers ſtole him; but it was like ſuch rogues; and thus they jogged on until they came to the place where the other two lay.

The firſt fellow they aſſiſted as they had done the other, and gave him a dram out of the leather bottle; but the laſt fellow was paſt their care; ſo they came away: for when they underſtood that it was my horſe they claimed, they began to be afraid that their own horſes might be known too, and then they had been in a worſe condition than myſelf, and muſt have been forced to have done them ſome miſchief to have got away.

I had ſent out two troopers to fetch them off, if there was any occaſion; but their ſtay was not long, for the troopers ſeeing them at a little diſtance coming towards us; they preſently returned.

I had enough of going for a ſpy, and my companions had enough of ſtaying in the wood; for

other intelligences agreed with ours, and all concurred in this, that it was time to be going; however, this uſe we made of it, that while the country thought us ſo ſtrong, we were in the leſs danger of being attacked, though in the more of being obſerved; but all this while we heard nothing of our army till the next day; when we heard prince Rupert, with about a thouſand horſe, was at Skipton, and from thence marched away to Weſtmoreland.

We concluded now we had two or three days time good; for, ſince meſſengers were ſent to York for a party to ſuppreſs us, we muſt have at leaſt two days march of them, and therefore all concluded we were to make the beſt of our way; early in the morning therefore we decamped from thoſe dull quarters; and as we marched through a village, we found the people very civil to us, and the women cried out, "God bleſs them, it is a pity that the Roundheads ſhould make ſuch work with ſuch brave men."

Finding we were among our friends, we reſolved to halt a little and refreſh ourſelves; and, indeed, the people were very kind to us, gave us victuals and drink, and took care of our horſes.

It happened to be our lot to ſtop at a houſe where the good woman took a great deal of pains to provide for us; but I obſerved her huſband walked about with a cap upon his head, and very much out

of order. I took no great notice of it, being very ſleepy, and having aſked my landlady to let me have a bed, I laid down and ſlept. When I waked, I found my landlord on another bed in the ſame room, groaning very heavily.

When I came down ſtairs, I found Cripple talking with the landlady; he was now out of his diſguiſe, but we called him Cripple ſtill; and the other, who put on the woman's clothes, we called Goody Thompſon. As ſoon as Cripple ſaw me, he called me out.

"Cavalier, do you know the man of the houſe "you are quartered in?"

"No, not I; pray why do you aſk?"

"No, ſo I believe; nor they you; if they did, his wife would not have made you a poſſet, and got you a white loaf."

"I do not underſtand you. What do you mean?"

"My dear friend, have you ſeen the man?"

"Seen him? yes, and heard him too; the man's ſick, and groaned ſo heavily that I could not lay upon the bed any longer for him."

"Why he is the man that you knocked down yeſterday with your fork, and I have had all the ſtory out yonder at the next door."

I confeſs it grieved me to have been forced to treat a perſon ſo roughly who was one of our friends, but to make ſome amends, we contrived to give the

poor man his brother's horſe; and my Cripple told him a formal ſtory, that he believed the horſe was taken away from the fellow by ſome of our men; and, if he knew him again, if it was his friend's horſe, he ſhould have him.

The man came down upon the news, and I cauſed ſix or ſeven horſes, which were taken at the ſame time, to be ſhewn him; he immediately choſe the right; ſo I gave him the horſe, and we pretended a great deal of ſorrow for the man's hurt, and that we had not knocked the fellow on the head as well as took away the horſe.

The man was ſo overjoyed at the revenge he thought was taken on the fellow, that we heard him groan no more.

We ventured to ſtay all day at this town, and the next night, and got guides to lead us to Blackſtone Edge, a ridge of mountains which part this ſide of Yorkſhire from Lancaſhire.

Early in the morning we marched, and kept our ſcouts very carefully out every way, who brought us no news for this day; we kept on all night, and made our horſes do penance for that little reſt they had; and the next morning we paſſed the hills, and got into Lancaſhire, to a town called Littlebury; and from thence to Rochdale, a little market-town.

And now we thought ourſelves ſafe as to the purſuit of the enemies from the ſide of York; our de-

ſign was to get to Bolton; but all the country was full of the enemy in flying parties; and how to get there we knew not.

At length we reſolved to ſend a meſſenger to Bolton; but he came back and told us, he had, with lurking and hiding, tried all the ways that he thought poſſible, but to no purpoſe; for he could not get into the town. We ſent another, and he never returned; and, ſome time after, we underſtood he was taken by the enemy. At laſt one got into the town, who brought us word they were tired out with conſtant alarms, had been ſtraitly blocked up, and every day expected a ſiege; and therefore adviſed us either to go northward, where prince Rupert and the lord Goring ranged at liberty; or to get over Warrington bridge, and ſo ſecure our retreat to Cheſter.

This double direction divided our opinions; I was for getting into Cheſter to recruit myſelf with horſes and with money, both which I wanted, and to get refreſhment, which we all wanted; but the major part of our men were for the north. Firſt, they ſaid, there was their general; and it was there duty to the cauſe and the king's intereſt obliged us to go, where we could do beſt ſervice; and there were their friends, and every man might hear ſome news of his own regiment, for we belonged to ſeveral; beſides, all the towns to the left of us were poſſeſſed by Sir William Brereton; Warrington, in

Lancaſhire, and Northwich, in Cheſhire, garriſoned by the enemy, and a ſtrong party at Mancheſter; ſo that it was very likely we ſhould be beaten and diſperſed before we could get to Cheſter.

Theſe reaſons, and eſpecially the laſt, determined us for the north, and we had reſolved to march the next morning, when other intelligence brought us to more ſpeedy reſolutions. We kept our ſcouts continually abroad to bring us intelligence of the enemy, whom we expected on our backs, and alſo to keep an eye upon the country; for as we lived upon them ſomething at large, they were ready enough to do us any ill turn, as it lay in their power.

The firſt meſſenger that arrived was from our friends at Bolton, with imformation that they were preparing at Mancheſter to attack us: one of our parties had been as far as Stockport, on the edge of Cheſhire, and was purſued by a party of the enemy, but got off by the help of the night.

Thus all things looking black to the ſouth, we had reſolved to march northward in the morning, when one of our ſcouts, from the ſide of Mancheſter, aſſured us, Sir Thomas Middleton, with ſome of the parliament forces and the country troops, making above twelve hundred men, were on their march to attack us, and would certainly beat up our quarters that night.

Upon this advice we reſolved to be gone; and

getting all things in readineſs, we began to march about two hours before night; and having got a truſty fellow for a guide, a fellow that we found was a friend to our ſide, he put a project into my head, which ſaved us all for that time; and that was, to give out in the village that we were marched back to Yorkſhire, reſolving to get into Pontefract caſtle.

Accordingly he conducted us out of the town the ſame way we came in; and taking a boy with him, he ſent the boy back juſt at night, and bade him ſay he ſaw us go up the hills at Blackſtone Edge; and it happened very well; for this party were ſo ſure of us, that they had placed four hundred men on the road to the northward, to intercept our retreat, and had left no way for us, as they thought, to eſcape, but back again.

About ten o'clock at night they aſſaulted our quarters, but finding we were gone, and being informed which way, they followed upon the ſpur; and travelling all night, being moon-light, they found themſelvs the next morning about fifteen miles eaſt juſt out of their way; for we had by the help of our guide, turned ſhort at the foot of the hills; and through blind, untrodden paths, and, with difficulty enough, by noon the next day, had reached almoſt twenty-five miles north near a town called Clithero.

Here we halted in the open field, and ſent out

out people to ſee how things were in the country. This part of the country, almoſt unpaſſable, and ſurrounded with hills, was indifferently quiet, and we got ſome refreſhment for ourſelves, but very little horſe-meat, and ſo went on; but we had not marched far before we found ourſelves diſcovered; and the four hundred horſe ſent to lye in wait for us as before, having underſtood which way we went, followed us hard; and by letters to ſome of their friends at Preſton, we found we were beſet again.

Our guide began now to be out of his knowledge, and our ſcouts brought us word the enemy's horſe was poſted before us, and we knew they were in our rear.

In this exigence we reſolved to divide our ſmall body, and ſo amuſing them, at leaſt one might get off if the other miſcarried. I took about eighty horſe with me, among which were all that I had of our own regiment, amounting to above thirty-two, and took the hills towards Yorkſhire.

Here we met with ſuch unpaſſable vaſt moors, rocks, and ſtony ways, as lamed all our horſes and tired our men; and ſometimes I thought we ſhould never be able to get over them, for our horſes failing, and jack-boots being but indifferent things to travel in, we might be ſtarved before we ſhould find any road or towns, for guide we had none, but a boy, who

knew but little, and would cry when we aſked him any queſtions.

I believe neither men nor horſes ever paſſed in ſome places where we went; and for twenty hours we ſaw not a town nor a houſe, excepting ſometimes from the top of the mountains at a vaſt diſtance.

I am perſuaded we might have encamped here if we had had proviſions, till the war had been over, and have met with no diſturbance; and I have often wondered ſince how we got into ſuch horrible places as much as how we got out of them.

That which was worſe to us than all the reſt was, that we knew not where we were going, nor what part of the country we ſhould come into when we came out of thoſe deſolate craggs.

At laſt, after a terrible fatigue, we began to ſee the weſtern parts of Yorkſhire, ſome few villages, and the country at a diſtance, looked a little like England; for I thought before, it looked like Old Brennus Hill, which the Griſons called the grandfather of the Alps. We got ſome relief in the villages, which, indeed, many of us had ſo much need of, that they were hardly able to ſit their horſes, and others were forced to help them off, they were ſo faint.

I never felt ſo much of the power of hunger in my life; for having not eaten in thirty hours, I was as

ravenous as a hound; and if I had had a piece of horſe-fleſh, I believe I ſhould not have had patience to have ſtayed dreſſing it, but have fallen upon it raw, and have eaten it as greedily as a Tartar.

However, I ate very cautiouſly, having often ſeen the danger of men's eating heartily after long faſting. Our next care was to enquire our way. Halifax, they told us, was on our right; there we durſt not think of going; general Skippon was before us, and there we knew not how it was; for a body of three thouſand horſe, ſent out by the enemy, in purſuit of prince Rupert, had been there but two days before, and the country people could not tell us whether they were gone or not: and Manchester's horſe, which were ſent out after our party, were then at Halifax in queſt of us, and afterwards marched into Cheſhire,

In this diſtreſs we would have hired a guide, but none of the country people would go with us; for the roundheads would hang them, they ſaid, when they came there. Upon this I called a fellow to me. "Hark ye, friend, doſt thee know the way ſo as to bring us into Weſtmoreland, and not keep the great road from York?"

"Ay merry I ken the ways weel enou."

"And you would go and guide us, but that you "are afraid the roundheads will hang you."

"Indeed would I, meaſter, with all my heart."

"Why then thou hadſt as well be hanged by a "roundhead as a cavalier; for if thou wilt not go, "I'll hang thee inſtantly."

"Na, and ye ſerve me ſoa, Iſe ene gan with "ye; for I care not for hanging; and ye'l get me a "good horſe, Iſe gang and be one of you, for I'll "nere come heame mere."

This pleaſed us ſtill better, and we mounted the fellow; for three of our men died that night with the extreme fatigue of the laſt ſervice.

Next morning, when our new trooper was mounted and cloathed, we hardly knew him; and this fellow led us by ſuch ways, ſuch wilderneſſes, and yet with ſuch prudence, keeping the hills to the left, that we might have the villages to refreſh ourſelves, that without him, we had certainly either periſhed in thoſe mountains, or fallen into the enemy's hands.

We paſſed the great road from York ſo critically as to time, that from one of the hills he ſhewed us a party of the enemy's horſe who were then marching into Weſtmoreland.

We lay ſtill that day, finding we were not diſcovered by them; and our guide proved the beſt ſcout that we could have had; for he would go out ten miles at a time, and bring us in all the news of the country: here he brought us word that York was ſurrendered upon articles, and that Newcaſtle,

which had been ſurpriſed by the king's party, was beſieged by another army of Scots advanced to help their brethren.

Along the edges of thoſe vaſt mountains we paſt, with the help of our guide, till we came into the foreſt of Swale; and finding ourſelves perfectly concealed, for no ſoldier had ever been here all the war, nor perhaps would not, if it had laſted twenty years; we thought we wanted a few days reſt, at leaſt for our horſes; ſo we reſolved to halt, and while we did ſo, we made ſome diſguiſes, and ſent out ſome ſpies into the country; but as here were no great towns, nor no poſt road, we got very little intelligence.

We reſted four days, and then marched again; and indeed having no great ſtock of money about us, and not very free of that we had, four days was enough for thoſe poor places to be able to maintain us.

We thought ourſelves pretty ſecure now; but our chief care was how to get over thoſe terrible mountains; for having paſſed the great road that leads from York to Lancaſter, the craggs, the farther northward we looked, appeared ſtill the worſe, and our buſineſs was all on the other ſide.

Our guide told us, he would bring us out, if we would have patience, which we were obliged to, and kept on this ſlow march, till he brought us to Stanhope, in the county of Durham; where ſome

of Lord Goring's horſe, and two regiments of foot, had their quarters: this was nineteen days from the battle of Marſton-moor.

Prince Rupert, who was then at Kendal in Weſtmoreland, and who had given me over as loſt, when he had news of our arrival, ſent an expreſs to me to meet him at Appleby. I went thither accordingly, and gave him an account of our journey; and there I heard the ſhort hiſtory of the other part of our men, whom we parted from in Lancaſhire.

They made the beſt of their way north; they had two reſolute gentlemen who commanded; and being ſo cloſely purſued by the enemy, that, finding themſelves under neceſſity of fighting, they halted, and faced about, expecting the charge.

The boldneſs of the action made the officer who led the enemy's horſe, which it ſeems were the country horſe only, afraid of them; which they perceiving, taking the advantage of his fears, bravely advanced, and charged them; and, though they were above two hundred horſe, they routed them, killed about thirty or forty, got ſome horſes and ſome money, and puſhed on their march night and day; but coming near Lancaſter, they were ſo waylayed and purſued, that they agreed to ſeparate, and ſhift every man for himſelf.

Many of them fell in the enemy's hands; ſome were killed attempting to paſs through the river Lune; ſome went back again, ſix or ſeven got to

Bolton, and about eighteen got ſafe to prince Rupert.

The prince was in a better condition here than I expected; he and my lord Goring, with the help of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the gentlemen of Cumberland, had a body of four thouſand horſe, and about ſix thouſand foot.

They had retaken Newcaſtle, Tynemouth, Durham, Stockton, and ſeveral towns of conſequence, from the Scots, and might have cut them out work enough ſtill, if that baſe people, reſolved to engage their whole intereſt to ruin their ſovereign, had not ſent a ſecond army of ten thouſand men, under the earl of Calender, to help their firſt.

Theſe came and laid ſiege to Newcaſtle, but found more vigorous reſiſtance now than they had done before.

There were in the town Sir John Morley, the lord Crawford, Lord Rea, and Maxwell, Scots, and old ſoldiers, who were reſolved their countrymen ſhould buy the town very dear if they had it; and had it not been for our diſaſter at Marſton-moor, they had never had it; for Calender, finding he was not able to carry the town, ſent to general Leven to come from the ſiege of York to help him.

Mean time the prince formed a very good army, and the lord Goring, with ten thouſand men, ſhewed himſelf on the borders of Scotland, to try if

that might not cauſe the Scots to recall their forces; and I am perſuaded had he entered Scotland, the parliament of Scotland had recalled the earl of Calender, for they had but five thouſand men left in arms to ſend againſt him; but they were loath to venture.

However, this effect it had, that it called the Scots northward again, and found them work there for the reſt of the ſummer, to reduce the ſeveral towns in the biſhoprick of Durham.

I found with the prince the poor remains of my regiment, which when joined with thoſe that had been with me, could not all make up three troops, and but two captains, three lieutenants, and one cornet, the reſt were diſperſed, killed, or taken priſoners.

However, with thoſe, which we ſtill called a regiment, I joined the prince, and after having done all we could on that ſide, the Scots being returned from York, the prince returned through Lancaſhire to Cheſter.

The enemy often appeared and alarmed us, and once fell on one of our parties, and killed us about a hundred men; but we were too many for them to pretend to fight us, ſo we came to Bolton, beat the troops of the enemy near Warrington, where I got a cut with a halbert in my face, and arrived at Cheſter the beginnig of Auguſt.

The parliament, upon their great ſucceſs in the

north, thinking the king's forces quite broken, had ſent their general Eſſex into the weſt, where the king's army was commanded by prince Maurice, prince Rupert's elder brother, but not very ſtrong; and the king being, as they ſuppoſed, by the abſance of prince Rupert, weakened ſo much as that he might be checked by Sir William Waller, who, with four thouſand five hundred foot, and one thouſand five hundred horſe, was at that time about Wincheſter, having lately beaten Sir Ralph Hopton. Upon all theſe conſiderations, the earl of Eſſex marched weſtward.

The forces in the weſt being too weak to oppoſe him, every thing gave way to him, and all people expected he would beſiege Exeter, where the queen was newly lying in *, and ſent a trumpet to deſire he would forbear the city, until ſhe could be removed; which he did, and paſſed on weſtward, took Tiverton, Biddeford, Barnſtaple, Launceſton,

* The queen had been brought to bed, in that city, about a fortnight before of the princeſs Henrietta. As ſoon as ſhe heard of his entering Devonſhire, ſhe ſent and deſired a ſafe-conduct to retire to Briſtol. The earl of Eſſex anſwered, that, if her majeſty would pleaſe to go to London, he would have the honour to wait upon her thither; but could not give her a ſafe-conduct to Briſtol without the expreſs order of both houſes. Whereupon the queen withdrew into Cornwall, and ſome time after into France.

relieved Plymouth, drove Sir Richard Grenvill up into Cornwall and followed him thither, but left prince Maurice behind him with four thouſand men about Barnſtaple and Exeter.

The king, in the mean time, marched from Oxford into Worceſter, with Waller at his heels; at Edgehill his majeſty turned upon Waller, and gave him a bruſh to put him in mind of the place; the king went on to Worceſter, ſent three hundred horſe to relieve Durſley caſtle, beſieged by the earl of Denby, and ſending part of his forces to Briſtol, returned to Oxford.

His majeſty had now firmly reſolved to march into the weſt, not having yet any account of our misfortunes in the north. Waller and Middleton way-laid the king at Cropedy bridge; the king attacked Middleton at the bridge; Waller's men were poſted with ſome cannon to guard a paſs; Middleton's men put a regiment of the king's foot to the rout, and purſued them: Waller's men, willing to come in for the plunder, a thing their general had often uſed them to, quitted their poſt at the paſs, and their great guns, to have part in the victory.

The king coming in ſeaſonably to the relief of his men, routed Middleton, and at the ſame time ſent a party round, who clapt in between Sir William Waller's men and their great guns, and ſecured the paſs and the cannon too.

The king took three colonels, beſides other of-

ſicers, and about three hundred men priſoners, with eight great guns, nineteen carriges of ammunition, and killed about two hundred men.

Waller loſt his reputation in this fight, and was exceedingly ſlighted ever after, even by his own party; but eſpecially by ſuch as were of Eſſex's party, between whom and Waller there had been jealouſies and miſunderſtandings for ſome time.

The king, about eight thouſand ſtrong, marched on to Briſtol, where Sir William Hopton joined him; and from thence he followed Eſſex into Cornwall; Eſſex ſtill following Grenvill, the king came to Exeter, and joining with prince Maurice, reſolved to purſue Eſſex; and now the earl of Eſſex began to ſee his miſtake, being cooped up between two ſeas, the king's army in his rear, the country his enemy, and Sir Richard Grenvill in his van.

The king, who always took the beſt meaſures, when he was left to his own counſel, wiſely refuſed to engage, though ſuperior in number, and much ſtronger in horſe. Eſſex often drew out to fight; but the king, well fortified, took the paſſes and bridges, planted cannon, and ſecured the country to keep off proviſions, and countinually ſtraitened their quarters, but would not fight.

Now Eſſex ſends away to the parliament for help, and they write to Waller, Middleton, and Manchеſter, to follow and come up with the king in

his rear; but ſome were too far off, and could not, as Manchester and Fairfax; others made no haſte, as having no mind to it, as Waller and Middleton; and if they had, it had been too late.

At laſt the earl of Eſſex, finding nothing to be done, and unwilling to fall into the king's hands, took ſhipping, and left his army to ſhift for themſelves. The horſe, under Sir William Balfour, the beſt horſe officer, and, without compariſon, the braveſt in all the parliament army, advanced in ſmall parties, as if to ſkirmiſh, but following in with the whole body, being three thouſand five hundred, horſe, broke through, and got off.

Though this was a loſs to the king's victory, yet the foot were now in a condition ſo much the worſe. Brave old Skippon propoſed to fight through with the foot, and die, as he called it, like Engliſhmen, with ſword in hand; but the reſt of the officers ſhook their heads at it; for, being well paid, they had, at preſent, no inclination for dying.

Seeing it thus, they agreed to treat, and the king granted them conditions, upon laying down their arms, to march off free. This was too much; had his majeſty but obliged them upon oath not to ſerve again for a certain time, he had done his buſineſs; but this was not thought of; ſo they paſſed free, only diſarmed, the ſoldiers not being allowed ſo much as their ſwords.

The king gained by this treaty forty pieces of

cannon, all of braſs, three hundred barrels of gunpowder, nine thouſand arms, eight thouſand ſwords, match and bullet in proportion, two hundred waggons, one hundred and fifty colours and ſtandards, all the bag and baggage, and about a thouſand of the men liſted in his army. This was a compleat victory without bloodſhed; and had the king but ſecured the men from ſerving only for ſix months, it had moſt effectually anſwered the battle of Marſton-moor.

As it was, it infuſed new life into all his majeſty's forces and friends, and retrieved his affairs very much; but eſpecially it encouraged us in the north, who were more ſenſible of the blow received at Marſton-moor, and of the deſtruction the Scots were bringing upon us all.

While I was at Cheſter, we had ſome ſmall ſkirmiſhes with Sir William Brereton. One morning in particular Sir William drew up, and faced us, and one of our colonels of horſe obſerving the enemy to be not, as he thought, above two hundred, deſired leave of prince Rupert to attack them with the like number, and accordingly he ſallied out with two hundred horſe.

I ſtood drawn up without the city with eight hundred more, ready to bring him off, if he ſhould be put to the worſt, which happened accordingly; for, not having diſcovered neither the country nor the enemy as he ought, Sir William Brereton drew

him into an ambuſcade; ſo that before he came up with Sir William's forces, near enough to charge, he found about three hundred horſe in his rear: though he was ſurpriſed at this, yet being a man of ready courage, he boldly faced about with one hundred and fifty of his men, leaving the other fifty to oppoſe Sir William.

With this ſmall party he deſperately charged the three hundred horſe in his rear, and putting them into diſorder, broke through them, and had there been no greater force, he had cut them all to pieces.

Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, and eager to aſſiſt the fifty men he had left behind, in caſe if attacked, he faced about, and charged through them again, and with theſe two charges entirely routed them.

Sir William Brereton finding himſelf diſappointed, advanced and fell upon the fifty men juſt as the colonel came up to them; they fought him with a great deal of bravery; but the colonel being unfortunately killed in the firſt charge, the men gave way, and came flying all in confuſion, with the enemy at their heels.

As ſoon as I ſaw this, I advanced with my eight hundred men, according to my orders, and the enemy, as ſoon as we appeared, gave over the purſuit. This gentleman, I remember, was colonel Morrough; we fetched off his body, and retreated into Cheſter.

The next monring the prince drew out of the city with about one thouſand two hundred horſe and two thouſand foot, and attacked Sir William Brereton in his quarters. The fight was very ſharp for the time, and near ſeven hundred men on both ſides were killed; but Sir William would not put it to a general engagement, ſo the prince drew off, contenting himſelf to have inſulted him in his quarters.

We now had received orders from the king to join him; but I repreſenting to the prince the condition of my regiment, which was now reduced to a hundred men, and that being within twenty-five miles of my father's houſe, I might ſoon recruit it, my father having got ſome men together already, I deſired leave to be at Shrewſbury for a month, to make up my men.

Accordingly, having obtained his leave, I marched to Wrexham, where, in two days, I got twenty men, and ſo on to Shrewſbury. I had not been here above ten days, but I received an expreſs to come away with what recruits I had got together, prince Rupert having poſitive orders to meet the king by a certain day.

I had not mounted one hundred men, though I had liſted about two hundred, when theſe orders came; but leaving my father to complete them for me, I marched with thoſe I had, and went to Oxford.

The king, after the rout of the parliament forces in the weſt, had marched back, took Barnſtaple, Plympton, Launceſton, Tiverton, and ſeveral other places, and left Plymouth beſieged by Sir Richard Grenvill; met with Sir William Waller at Shaftſbury, and again at Andover; had a ſkirmiſh with him at both places, and marched for Newbury.

Here the king ſent for prince Rupert to meet him, who with three thouſand horſe made long marches to join him; but the parliament having joined their three armies together, Mancheſter from the north, Waller and Eſſex, the men being cloathed and armed from the weſt, had attacked the king, and obliged him to fight, the day before the prince came up.

The king had ſo poſted himſelf, as that he could not be obliged to fight but with advantage; the parliament's forces being ſuperior in number, and therefore when they attacked him, he galled them with his cannon, and declining to come to a general battle, ſtood upon the defenſive, expecting prince Rupert with the horſe.

The parliament's forces had ſome advantage over our foot, and took the earl of Cleveland priſoner; but the king, whoſe foot were not above one to two, drew his men under the cannon of Dunnington caſtle*, and having ſecured his artillery and

* About a mile from Newbury.

baggage, made a retreat with his foot in very good order, having not loſt in all the fight above three hundred men, and the parliament as many: we loſt five pieces of cannon and took two, having repulſed the earl of Mancheſter's men on the north ſide of the town, with conſiderable loſs.

The king having lodged his train of artillery and baggage in Dunnington caſtle, marched the next day for Oxford; there we joined him with three thouſand horſe and two thouſand foot. Encouraged with this reinforcement, the king appeared upon the hills on the north-weſt of Newbury, and faced the parliament army. The parliament having too many generals as well as ſoldiers, the former could not agree whether they ſhould fight or not.

This was no great token of the victory they boaſted of; for they were now twice our number in the whole, and their foot three for one. The king ſtood in battalia all day, and finding the parliament forces had no inclination to engage him, he drew away his cannon and baggage out of Dunnington caſtle, in view of their whole army, and marched to Oxford.

This was ſuch a falſe ſtep of the parliament's generals, that the people cried ſhame of them, and the parliament appointed a committee to inquire into it.

Cromwell accuſed Mancheſter, and Mancheſter

accuſed Waller, and ſo they laid the fault upon each other.

Waller would have been glad to have charged it upon Eſſex; but as it happened he was not in the army, having been taken ill ſome days before; but, as it generally is when a miſtake is made, the actors fall out among themſelves, ſo it was here *.

No doubt it was as falſe a ſtep as that at Cornwall, to let the king draw away his baggage and cannon, in the face of three armies, and never fire a ſhot at them.

The king had not above eight thouſand foot in his army, and they above twenty-five thouſand. It is true, the king had eight thouſand horſe, a fine body, and much ſuperior to theirs; but the foot might with the greateſt eaſe in the world, have prevented the removing the cannon, and in three days time have taken the caſtle, with all that was in it.

Thoſe differences produced their ſelf-denying ordinance, and the putting by moſt of their old generals, as Eſſex, Waller, Mancheſter, &c.; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, a terrible man in the field,

* Rapin lays it to the account of ſome indiſpoſition, or perhaps out of ſome diſcontent, not being able to agree, either with the earl of Mancheſter, or Sir William Waller.

though the mildeſt of men out of it, was voted to have the command of all their forces, and Lambert to take the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax's troops in the north, old Skippon being major general.

This winter was ſpent on the enemy's ſide in modelling, as they called it, their army; and, on our ſide, in recruiting ours, and ſome petty excurſions.

Amongſt the many addreſſes, I obſerved one from Suſſex or Surrey, complaining of the rudeneſs of our ſoldiers, and particularly of the raviſhing of women, and the murdering of men; from which I only obſerved, that there were diſorders among them, as well as among us, only with this difference, that they, for reaſons I mentioned before, were under circumſtances to prevent it better than the king.

But I muſt do the king's memory that juſtice, that he uſed all poſſible methods, by puniſhment of ſoldiers, charging, and ſometimes entreating, the gentlemen not to ſuffer ſuch diſorders and ſuch violences in their men; but it was to no purpoſe for his majeſty to attempt it, while his officers, generals, and great men, winked at it; for the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldier is ſuppoſed to be approved by the officer, when it is not corrected.

The rudeneſs of the parliament ſoldiers began from the diviſion among their officers; for, in many

places, the ſoldiers grew ſo out of all diſcipline, and ſo unſufferably rude, that they in particular refuſed to march when Sir William Waller went to Weymouth. This had turned to good account for us, had theſe curſed Scots been out of our way; but they were the ſtaff of the party; and now they were daily ſolicited to march ſouthward, which was a very great affliction to the king and all his friends.

One booty the king got at this time, which was a very ſeaſonable aſſiſtance to his affairs.

A great merchant ſhip, richly laden at London, and bouud to the Eaſt-Indies, was, by the ſeamen, brought into Briſtol, and delivered up to the king.

Some merchants in Briſtol offered the king forty thouſand pounds for her, which his majeſty ordered ſhould be accepted, reſerving only thirty great guns for his own uſe.

The treaty at Uxbridge now was begun, and we that had been well beaten in the war, heartily wiſhed the king would come to a peace; but we all foreſaw the clergy would ruin it all. The commons were for preſbytery, and would never agree the biſhops ſhould be reſtored; the king was more willing to comply with any thing than this, and we foreſaw it would be ſo; from whence we uſed to ſay among ourſelves, that the clergy was reſolved if there ſhould be no biſhop there ſhould be no king.

This treaty at Uxbridge was a perfect war between the men of the gown; ours was between those of the sword; and I cannot but take notice how the lawyers, statesmen, and the clergy of every side, bestirred themselves rather to hinder than promote the peace.

There had been a treaty at Oxford some time before, where the parliament, insisting that the king should pass a bill to abolish episcopacy, quit the militia, abandon several of his faithful servants to be exempted from pardon, and making several other most extravagant demands. Nothing was done, but the treaty broke off, both parties being rather farther exasperated, than inclined to hearken to conditions.

However, soon after the success in the west, his majesty, to let them see that the victory had not elated him so as to make him reject the peace, sent a messenger to the parliament to put them in mind of messages of like nature which they had slighted; and to let them know, that notwithstanding he had beaten their forces, he was yet willing to hearken to a reasonable proposal for puting an end to the war.

The parliament pretended the king in his message did not treat with them as a legal parliament, and so made hesitations; but after long debates and delays they agreed to draw up propositions for peace to be sent to the king.

As this meſſage was ſent to the houſes about Auguſt, I think they made it the middle of November before they brought the propoſitions for peace; and when they brought them, they had no power to enter either upon a treaty, or ſo much as preliminaries for a treaty, only to deliver the letter and receive an anſwer.

However, ſuch were the circumſtances of affairs at this time, that the king was uneaſy to ſee himſelf thus treated, and take no notice of it. The king returned an anſwer to the propoſition, and propoſed a treaty by commiſſioners, which the parliament appointed.

Three months more were loſt in naming commiſſioners. There was much time ſpent in this treaty, but little done; the commiſſioners debated chiefly the article of religion, and of the militia; in the latter they were very likely to agree; in the former both ſides ſeemed too poſitive. The king would by no means abandon epiſcopacy, nor the parliament preſbytery; for both in their opinion were of divine appointment.

The commiſſioners, finding this point hardeſt to adjuſt, went from it to that of the militia; but the time ſpinning out, the king's commiſſioners demanded longer time for the treaty; the other ſent up for inſtructions, but the houſe refuſed to lengthen out the time.

This was thought an inſolence upon the king,

and gave all good people a deteſtation of ſuch haughty behaviour: and thus the hopes of peace vaniſhed; both ſides prepared for war with as much eagerneſs as before.

The parliament was now employed in what they called modelling their army; that is to ſay, the independent party began to prevail; and as they outdid all the others in their reſolution of carrying on the war to all extremities, ſo they were both the more vigorous and more polititc party in carrying it on.

Indeed the war was after this carried on with greater animoſity than ever, and the generals puſhed forward with a vigour, that, as it had ſomething in it unuſual, ſo it told us plainly from this time, whatever they did before, they now puſhed at the ruin even of monarchy itſelf.

All this while alſo the war went on, and though the parliament had no ſettled army, yet their regiments and troops were always in action, and the ſword was at work in every part of the kingdom.

Among an infinite number of party ſkirmiſhes and fights this winter, one happened which nearly concerned me. Colonel Mitton, with about twelve hundred horſe and foot, having intelligence from ſome of the inhabitants of Shrewſbury, on a Sunday morning early, broke into the town, and took it, caſtle and all.

The loſs for the quality, more than the number, was very great to the king's affairs. They took there fifteen pieces of cannon, prince Maurice's magazine of arms and ammunition, prince Rupert's baggage, and above fifty perſons of quality and officers. There were not above eight or ten men killed on both ſides; for the town was ſurpriſed, not ſtormed.

I had a particular loſs in this action; for all the men and horſes my father had got together for the recruiting my regiment were here loſt and diſperſed; and which was the worſe, my father, happening to be then in the town, was taken priſoner, and carried to Beeſton caſtle in Cheſhire.

I was quartered all this winter at Banbury, in Oxfordſhire, and went little abroad; nor had we any action till the latter end of February, when I was ordered to march to Leiceſter with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in order, as we thought, to raiſe a body of men in that county and Staffordſhire, to join the king.

We lay at Daventry one night, and continued our march to paſs the river above Northampton; that town being poſſeſſed by the enemy, we underſtood a party of Northampton forces were abroad, and intended to attack us.

Accordingly, in the afternoon, our ſcouts brought us word the enemy were quartered in ſome villages on the road to Coventry; our commander thinking

it much better to ſet upon them in their quarters, than to wait for them in the field, reſolved to attack them early in the morning, before they were aware of it.

We refreſhed ourſelves in the field for that day, and getting into a great wood near the enemy, we ſtaid there all night, till almoſt break of day, without being diſcovered.

In the morning very early we heard the enemy's trumpets ſound to horſe; this rouſed us to look abroad; and ſending out a ſcout, he brought us word a party of the enemy was at hand. We were vexed to be ſo diſappointed; but finding their party ſmall enough to be dealt with, Sir Marmaduke ordered me to charge them with three hundred horſe and two hundred dragoons, while he, at the ſame time, entered the town.

Accordingly I lay ſtill till they came to the very ſkirt of the wood where I was poſted, when I ſaluted them with a volley from my dragoons out of the wood, and immediately ſhewed myſelf with my horſe on their front, ready to charge them; they appeared not to be ſurpriſed, and received our charge with great reſolution; and being above four hundred men, they puſhed me vigorouſly in their turn, putting my men into ſome diſorder.

In this extremity I ſent to order the dragoons to charge them in the flank, which they did with great bravery, and the other ſtill maintained the

fight with desperate resolution. There was no want of courage on either side; but our dragoons had the advantage, and at last routed them, and drove them back to the village.

Here Sir Marmaduke Langdale had his hands full too; for my firing had alarmed the towns adjacent, that when he came into the town, he found them all in arms; and, contrary to his expectation, two regiments of foot, with about five hundred horse more. As Sir Marmaduke had no foot, only horse and dragoons, this was a surprise to him; but he caused his dragoons to enter the town, and charge the foot, while his horse secured the avenues of the town.

The dragoons bravely attacked the foot, and Sir Marmaduke falling in with his horse, the fight was obstinate and bloody, when the horse that I had routed came flying into the street of the village, and my men at their heels.

Immediately I left the pursuit, and fell in with all my force to the assistance of my friends; and, after an obstinate resistance, we routed the whole party: we killed about seven hundred men, took three hundred and fifty, twenty-seven officers, one hundred arms, all their baggage, and two hundred horses, and continued our march to Harborough, where we halted to refresh ourselves.

Between Harborough and Leicester we met with a party of eight hundred dragoons of the parlia-

ment forces. They found themſelves too few to attack; and therefore to avoid us, they got into a ſmall wood; but perceiving themſelves diſcovered, they came boldly out, and placed themſelves at the entrance into a lane, lining both ſides of the hedges with their ſhot.

We immediately attacked them, beat them from their hedges, from thence into the wood, and out of the wood again, and forced them at laſt to a downright runaway on foot among the encloſures, where it was difficult to follow; killed about a hundred of them, and took two hundred and fifty priſoners, with all their horſes, and came that night to Leiceſter.

When we came to Leiceſter, and had taken up our quarters, Sir Marmaduke Langdale ſent for me to ſup with him, and told me that he had a ſecret commiſſion in his pocket, which his majeſty had commanded him not to open until he came to Leiceſter; that now he had ſent for me to open it together, that we might know what it was we were to do, and to conſider how to do it.

Then pulling out his ſealed orders, we found we were to get what force we could together, and a certain number of carriages with ammunition, which the governor of Leiceſter was to deliver us, and a certain quantity of proviſions, eſpecially corn and ſalt, and to relieve Newark.

This town had long been beſieged: the fortifica-

tions, together with its ſituation, had rendered it the ſtrongeſt place in England; and as it was the greateſt paſs in the kingdom, ſo it was of vaſt conſequence to the king's affairs.

There was in it a garriſon of brave old rugged boys, fellows that, like count Tilly's Germans, had iron faces, and they had defended themſelves with extraordinary bravery a great while, but now were exceedingly reduced for the want of food.

Accordingly we received the ammunition and proviſion, and away we went for Newark; about Melton Mowbray, colonel Roſiter ſet upon us with above three thouſand men; we were about the ſame number, having two thouſand five hundred horſe, and eight hundred dragoons. We had ſome foot, but they were ſtill at Harborough, and were ordered to come after us.

Roſiter, like a brave officer, charged us with great fury, and rather outdid us in number, while we defended ourſelves with all the eagerneſs we could, and gave him to underſtand we were not ſo ſoon to be beaten as he expected.

While the fight continued doubtful, eſpecially on our ſide, our people, who had charge of the carriages and proviſions, began to encloſe our flanks with them, as if we had been marching; which, though it was done without orders, had two very good effects, and which did us extraordinary ſervice.

Firſt, it ſecured us from being charged in the flank, which Roſiter had twice attempted; and, ſecondly, it ſecured our carriages from being plundred, which had ſpoiled our whole expedition. Being thus encloſed, we fought with great ſecurity; and though Roſiter made three deſperate charges upon us, he could never break us.

Our men received him with ſo much courage, and kept their order ſo well, that the enemy, finding it impoſſible to force us, gave it over, and left us to purſue our orders. We did not offer to chaſe them, but contented enough to have repulſed and beaten them off, and our buſineſs being to relieve Newark, we proceeded.

If we are to reckon by the enemy's uſual method, we got the victory, becauſe we kept the field, and had the pillage of their dead; but otherwiſe, neither ſide had any great cauſe to boaſt.

We loſt about one hundred and fifty men, and near as many hurt; they left one hundred and ſeventy on the ſpot, and carried off ſome. How many they had wounded we could not tell; we got ſeventy or eighty horſe, which helped to remount ſome of our men that had loſt theirs in the fight.

We had, however, this diſadvantage, that we were to march on immediately after this ſervice; the enemy only to retire to their quarters, about a mile. This was an injury to our wounded men,

who we were after obliged to leave at Belvoir caſtle, and from thence we advanced to Newark.

Our buſineſs at Newark was to relieve the place, and this we reſolved to do, whatever it coſt, though, at the ſame time, we reſolved not to fight, unleſs we were forced to it.

The town was rather blocked up than beſieged; the garriſon was ſtrong, but ill provided: we had ſent them word of our coming, and our orders to relieve them, and they propoſed our doing it.

The chief ſtrength of the enemy lay on the other ſide of the river; but they having alſo ſome notice of our deſign, had ſent over forces to ſtrengthen their leaguer on this ſide. The garriſon had often ſurpriſed them by ſallies, and indeed had chiefly ſubſiſted for ſome time by what they brought in on this manner.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who was our commander for the expedition, was for a general attempt to raiſe the ſiege; but I had perſuaded him off of that: firſt, becauſe if we ſhould be beaten, as might be probable, we then loſt the town.

Sir Marmaduke briſkly replied, "A ſoldier ought "never to ſuppoſe he ſhall be beaten."

"But, Sir," ſaid I, "you will get more honour "by relieving the town, than by beating them: "one will be a credit to your conduct, as the other "will be to your courage; and, if you think you "can beat them, you may do it afterwards; and

" then if you are miſtaken, the town is neverthe-
" leſs ſecured and half your victory gained."

He was prevailed with to adhere to this advice, and accordingly we appeared before the town about two hours before night. The horſe drew up near the enemy's works; the enemy drew up within their works, and, ſeeing no foot, expected our dragoons would diſmount and attack them.

They were in the right to let us attack them, becauſe of the advantage of their batteries and works, if that had been our deſign; but, as we intended only to amuſe them, this caution of theirs effected our purpoſe; for, while we thus faced them with our horſe, two regiments of foot, which came up to us but the night before, and was all the infantry we had, with the waggons of proviſions, and five hundred dragoons, taking a compaſs clean round the town, poſted themſelves on the lower ſide of the town by the river.

Upon a ſignal the garriſon agreed on before, they ſallied out at this very juncture, with all the men they could ſpare, and dividing themſelves in two parties, while one party moved to the left to meet our relief, the other party fell on upon part of that body which faced us.

We kept in motion, and upon this ſignal advanced to their works, and our dragoons fired upon them; and the horſe wheeling and counter-march-

ing often, kept them continually expecting to be attacked.

By this means the enemy were kept employed, and our foot, with the waggons, appeariug on that quarter where they were leaſt expected, eaſily defeated the advanced guards, and forced that poſt; where, entering the leaguer, the other part of the garriſon, who had ſallied that way, came up to them, received the waggons, and the dragoons entered with them into the town.

That party which we faced on the other ſide of the works, knew nothing of what was done till all was over; the garriſon retreated in good order, and we drew off, having finiſhed what we came for without fighting.

Thus we plentifully ſtored the town with all things wanting, and with an addition of five hundred dragoons to their garriſon; after which we marched away without fighting a ſtroke.

Our next orders were to relieve Pontefract caſtle, another garriſon of the king's which had been beſieged ever ſince a few days after the fight at Marſton-moor, by the lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and other generals in their turn.

By the way we were joined with eight hundred horſe out of Derbyſhire, and ſome foot, ſo many as made us in all about four thouſand five hundred men.

Colonel Forbes, a Scotchman, commanded at the ſiege, in the abſence of the lord Fairfax; the colonel had ſent to my lord for more troops, and his lordſhip was gathering his forces to come up to him; but he was pleaſed to come too late.

We came up with the enemy's leaguer about break of day, and having been diſcovered by their ſcouts, they, with more courage than diſcretion, drew out to meet us.

We ſaw no reaſon to avoid them, being ſtronger in horſe than they; and though we had but few foot, we had one thouſand dragoons, which helped us greatly. We had placed our horſe and foot throughout in one line, with two reſerves of horſe, and between every diviſion of horſe a diviſion of foot, only that on the extremes of our wings there were two parties of horſe on each point by themſelves, and the dragoons in the center, on foot.

Their foot charged us home, and ſtood with puſh of pike a great while; but their horſe charging our horſe and muſqueteers, and being cloſed on the flanks with thoſe two extended troops on our wings, they were preſently diſordered, and fled out of the field.

The foot, thus deſerted, were charged on every ſide, and broken. They retreated, ſtill fighting, and in good order, for a while: but the garriſon ſallying upon them at the ſame time, and being

followed close by our horse, they were scattered, entirely routed, and most of them killed.

The lord Fairfax was come with his horse as far as Ferrybridge, but the fight was over; and all he could do was to rally those that fled, and save some of their carriages, which else had fallen into our hands.

We drew up our little army in order of battle the next day, expecting the lord Fairfax would have charged us; but his lordship was so far from any such thoughts, that he placed a party of dragoons, with orders to fortify the pass at Ferrybridge, to prevent our falling upon him in his retreat, which he needed not to have done; for, having raised the siege of Pontefract, our business was over: we had nothing to say to him, unless we had been strong enough to stay.

We lost not above thirty men in this action, and the enemy three hundred, with about one hundred and fifty prisoners, one piece of cannon, all their ammunition, one thousand arms, and most of their baggage, and colonel Lambert was once taken prisoner, being wounded, but got off again.

We brought no relief for the garrison, but the opportunity to furnish themselves out of the country, which they did very plentifully. The ammunition taken from the enemy was given to them, which they wanted, and was their due; for they had seiz-

ed it in the ſally they made, before the enemy was quite defeated.

I cannot omit taking notice, on all occaſions, how exceedingly ſerviceable this method was of poſting muſqueteers in the intervals, among the horſe, in all this war.

I perſuaded our generals to it, as much as poſſible, and I never knew a body of horſe beaten that did ſo; yet I had great difficulty to prevail upon our people to believe it, though it was taught me by Guſtavus Adolphus, the greateſt general in the world. Prince Rupert did it at the battle of Marſton-moor; and had the earl of Newcaſtle not been obſtinate againſt it in his right wing, as I obſerved before, the day had not been loſt.

In diſcourſing this with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, I had related ſeveral examples of the ſerviceableneſs of theſe ſmall bodies of firemen, and, with great difficulty, brought him to agree, telling him, I would be anſwerable for the ſucceſs; after the fight, he told me plainly he ſaw the advantage of it, and would never fight otherwiſe again, if he had any foot to place.

Having relieved theſe two places, we haſtened, by long marches, through Derbyſhire, to join prince Rupert on the edge of Shropſhire and Cheſhire. We found colonel Roſiter had followed us at a diſtance ever ſince the buſineſs at Melton Mowbray, but never cared to attack us, and we found he did

the like ſtill. Our general would fain have been doing with him again, but we found him too ſhy.

Once we laid a trap for him at Dove bridge, between Derby and Burton upon Trent, the body being marched two days before; three hundred dragoons were left to guard the bridge, as if we were afraid he ſhould fall upon us.

Upon this we marched, as I ſaid, on to Burton, and the next day, fetching a compaſs round, came to a village near Titbury caſtle, whoſe name I have forgot, where we lay ſtill expecting our dragoons would be attacked.

Accordingly Roſiter, ſtrengthened with ſome troops of horſe from Yorkſhire, came up to the bridge, and, finding ſome dragoons poſted, advanced to charge them: the dragoons immediately mounted their horſes and fled, as they were ordered; but the old lad was not to be caught ſo; for he halted immediately at the bridge, and would not come over till he had ſent three or four flying parties abroad to diſcover the country.

One of theſe parties fell into our hands, and received but coarſe entertainment. Finding the plot would not take, we appeared and drew up in view of the bridge, but he would not ſtir: ſo we continued our march into Cheſhire, where we joined prince Rupert, and prince Maurice, making together a fine body, being above eight thouſand horſe and dragoons.

This was the beſt and moſt ſucceſsful expedition I was in during this war. It was well concerted, and executed with as much expedition and conduct as could be deſired, and the ſucceſs was anſwerable to it.

Indeed, conſidering the ſeaſon of the year, for we ſet out from Oxford the latter end of February, the ways bad, and the ſeaſon wet, it was a terrible march of above two hundred miles, in continual action, and inceſſantly dodged and obſerved by a vigilant enemy, and at a time when the north was over-run by their armies, and the Scots wanting employment for their forces; yet, in leſs than twenty three days, we marched two hundred miles, fought the enemy in open field four times, relieved one garriſon beſieged, and raiſed the ſiege of another, and joined our friends at laſt in ſafety.

The enemy was in great pain for Sir William Brereton and his forces, and expreſſes rid night and day to the Scots in the north, and to the parties in Lancaſhire, to come to his help. The prince, who uſed to be rather too forward to fight than otherwiſe, could not be perſuaded to make uſe of this opportunity, but loitered, if I may be allowed to ſay ſo, till the Scots, with a brigade of horſe and two thouſand foot, had joined him; and then it was not thought proper to engage them.

I took this opportunity to go to Shrewſbury to

viſit my father, who was a priſoner of war there, getting a paſs from the enemy's governor.

He allowed him the liberty of the town, and ſometimes to go to his own houſe, upon his parole; ſo that his confinement was not very much to his perſonal injury: but this, together with the charges he had been at in raiſing the regiment, and above twenty thouſand pounds in money and plate, which at ſeveral times he had lent, or given rather, to the king, had reduced our family to very ill circumſtances; and now they talked of cutting down his woods.

I had a great deal of diſcourſe with my father on this affair; and finding him extremely concerned, I offered to go to the king, and deſire his leave to go to London, and treat about his compoſition, or to render myſelf a priſoner in his ſtead, while he went up himſelf.

In this difficulty I treated with the governor of the town, who very civily offered me his paſs to go for London, which I accepted; and waiting on prince Rupert, who was then at Worceſter, I acquanted him with my deſign.

The prince was unwilling I ſhould go to London; but told me, he had ſome priſoners of the parliament's friends in Cumberland, and he would get an exchange for my father.

I replied, if he would give me his word for it,

I knew I might depend upon it, otherwiſe there was ſo many of the king's party in their hands, that his majeſty was tired with ſolicitations for exchanges; for we never had a priſoner but there were ten offers of exchanges for him. The prince ſaid, I might depend upon him; and he was as good as his word quickly after.

While the prince lay at Worceſter he made an excurſion into Herefordſhire, and having made ſome of the gentlemen priſoners, brought them to Worceſter; and though it was an action which had not been uſual, they being perſons not in arms, yet the like being my father's caſe, who was really not in commiſſion, nor in any military ſervice, having reſigned his regiment three years before to me, the prince inſiſted on exchanging them for ſuch as the parliament had in cuſtody in ſimilar circumſtances.

The gentlemen ſeeing, no remedy, ſolicited their own caſe at the parliament, and got it paſſed in their behalf, and by this means my father got his liberty; and, by the aſſiſtance of the earl of Denbigh, got leave to come to London to make a compoſition, as a delinquent, for his eſtate.

This they charged at ſeven thouſand pounds; but, by the aſſiſtance of the ſame noble perſon, he got off for four thouſand pounds: ſome members of the committee moved very kindly, that my father ſhould oblige me to quit the king's ſervice;

but that, as a thing which might be out of his power, was not inſiſted on.

The modelling the parliament army took them up all this winter, and we were in great hopes the diviſions which appeared amongſt them might have weakened their party; but when they voted Sir Thomas Fairfax to be general, I confeſs I was convinced the king's affairs were deſperate.

Sir Thomas was the fitteſt man amongſt them to undertake the charge: he was a complete general, ſtrict in his diſcipline, wary in conduct, fearleſs in action, unwearied in the fatigue of the war, and, withal, of a modeſt, noble, generous diſpoſition.

We all apprehended danger from him, and heartily wiſhed him of our own ſide; and the king was ſo ſenſible of it, that when an account was brought him of the choice they had made, he replied, "I "am ſorry for it; I had rather it had been any "body than he."

The firſt attempts of this new general and new army were at Oxford, which, by the neighbourhood of a numerous garriſon in Abingdon, began to be very much ſtraitened for proviſions; and the new forces under Cromwell and Skippon, one lieutenant general, the other major general, to Fairfax, approaching with a deſign to block it up, the king left the place, ſuppoſing his abſence would draw them away, as it ſoon did,

The king, reſolving to leave Oxford, marched

from thence with all his forces, the garriſon excepted, with deſign to have gone to Briſtol; but, hearing the plague was in that city, altered the meaſures, and changed the courſe of the king's deſigns, ſo he marched for Worceſter the beginning of May, 1645. The foot, with a train of forty pieces of cannon, marching into Worceſter, the horſe ſtaid behind ſome time in Glouceſterſhire.

The firſt action our army did was to raiſe the ſiege of Cheſter; Sir William Brereton had beſieged it, or rather blocked it up; and when his majeſty came to Worceſter he ſent prince Rupert, with four thouſand horſe and dragoons, with orders to join ſome foot out of Wales, to raiſe the ſiege; but Sir William thought fit to withdraw and not ſtay for them, and the town was freed without fighting. The governor took care in this interval to furniſh himſelf with all things neceſſary for another ſiege; and, as for ammunition and other neceſſaries, he was in no want.

I was ſent with a party into Staffordſhire, with deſign to intercept a convoy of ſtores coming from London for the uſe Sir William Brereton; but they having ſome notice of the deſign, ſtopped, and went out of the road to Burton upon Trent, and ſo I miſſed them; but that we might not come back quite empty, we attacked Hawkeſly houſe, and took it, where we got good booty, and brought eighty

priſoners back to Worceſter. From Worceſter the king advanced into Shropſhire, and took his head quarters at Bridgenorth.

This was a very happy march of the king's, and had his majeſty proceeded, he had certainly cleared the north once more of his enemies, for the country was generally for him. At his advancing ſo far as Bridgenorth, Sir William Brereton fled up into Lancaſhire; the Scots brigades who were with him retreated in the north, while yet the king was about forty miles from them, and all things lay open for conqueſt.

The new generals, Fairfax and Cromwell, lay about Oxford preparing as if they would beſiege it, and gave the king's army ſo much leiſure, that his majeſty might have been at Newcaſtle before they could be half way to him. But Heaven, when the ruin of a perſon or party is determined, always ſo infatuates their councils, as to make them inſtrumental to it themſelves.

The king let ſlip this great opportunity, as ſome thought, intending to break into the aſſociated counties of Northampton, Cambridge, and Norfolk, where he had ſome intereſts forming. What the deſign was we knew not; but the king turned eaſtward, and marched into Leiceſterſhire, and having treated the country but very indifferently, as having deſerved no better of us, laid ſiege to Leiceſter.

This was but a ſhort ſiege; for the king, reſolving not to loſe time, fell on with his great guns, and having beaten down their works, our foot entered, after a vigorous reſiſtance, and took the town by ſtorm.

There was ſome blood ſhed here, the town being carried by aſſault; but it was their own faults; for after the town was taken, the ſoldiers and townſmen obſtinately fought us in the market place; inſomuch that the horſe was called to enter the town to clear the ſtreets. But this was not all: I was commanded to advance with theſe horſe, being three regiments, and to enter the town; the foot, who were engaged in the ſtreets, crying out, "Horſe! horſe!"

Immediately I advanced to the gate, for we were drawn up about muſquet ſhot from the works, to have ſupported our foot, in caſe of a ſally. Having ſeized the gate, I placed a guard of horſe there, with orders to let no body paſs in or out, and, dividing my troops, rode up by two ways towards the market place.

The garriſon, defending themſelves in the market place and in the church-yard with great obſtinacy, killed us a great many men; but, as ſoon as our horſe appeared, they demanded quarter, which our foot refuſed them in the firſt heat, as is frequent in all nations in like caſes, until at laſt they threw down their arms, and yielded at diſcretion; and

then I can teſtify to the world that fair quarter was given them.

I am the more particular in this relation, having been an eye-witneſs of the action, becauſe the king was reproached in all the public libels with which thoſe times abounded for having put a great many to death, and hanged the committee of the parliament, and ſome Scots, in cold blood, which was a notorious forgery; and as I am ſure there was no ſuch thing done, ſo I muſt acknowledge I never ſaw any inclination in his majeſty to cruelty, or to act any thing which was not practiſed by the general laws of war, and by men of honour in all nations.

But the matter of fact, in reſpect to the garriſon, was as I have related; and if they had thrown down their arms ſooner, they had had mercy ſooner; but it was not for a conquering army, entering a town by ſtorm, to offer conditions of quarter in the ſtreets.

Another circumſtance was, that a great many of the inhabitants, both men and women, were killed, which is moſt true; and the caſe was thus:

The inhabitants, to ſhew their over-forward zeal to defend the town, fought in the breach; nay, the very women, to the honour of the Leiceſter ladies, if they like it, officiouſly did their parts; and after the town was taken, and when, if they had had any

brains in their zeal, they would have kept their houſes, and been quiet; but they fired upon our men out of their windows, and from the tops of their houſes, and threw tiles upon their heads; and I had ſeveral of my men wounded ſo, and ſeven or eight killed.

This exaſperated us to the laſt degree; and finding one houſe better manned than ordinary, and many ſhot fired at us out of the windows, I cauſed my men to attack it, reſolving to make them an example for the reſt; which they did, and breaking open the doors, they killed all they found there, without diſtinction; and I appeal to the world if they were to blame.

If the parliament committee, or the Scots deputies, were here, they ought to have been quiet, ſince the town was taken; but they began with us, and, I think, brought it upon themſelves. This is the whole caſe, ſo far as came within my knowledge, for which his majeſty was ſo much abuſed.

We took here colonel Gray and captain Hacker, with about three hundred priſoners, and about three hundred more were killed. This was the laſt day of May, 1645.

His majeſty, having given over Oxford for loſt, continued here ſome days, viewed the town, ordered the fortifications to be augmented, and prepared to make it the ſeat of war.

But the parliament, rouſed at this appearance of the king's army, ordered their general to raiſe the ſiege of Oxford, where the garriſon had, in a ſally, ruined ſome of their works, and killed them a hundred and fifty men, taking ſeveral priſoners, and carrying them with them into the city; and ordered him to march towards Leiceſter to obſerve the king.

The king had now a ſmall, but gallant, army, all brave tried ſoldiers, and ſeemed eager to engage the new-modelled army; and his majeſty, hearing that Sir Thomas Fairfax, having raiſed the ſiege of Oxford, advanced towards him, fairly ſaved him the trouble of a long march, and met him half way.

The army lay at Daventry, and Fairfax at Towceſter, about eight miles off. Here the king ſent away ſix hundred horſe, with three thouſand head of cattle, to relieve his people in Oxford; the cattle he might have ſpared better than the men.

The king having thus victualled Oxford, changed his reſolution of fighting Fairfax, to whom Cromwell was now joined with four thouſand men, or was within a day's march, and marched northward.

This was unhappy counſel, becauſe late given: had we marched northward at firſt, we had done it; but thus it was. Now we marched with a tri-

umphing enemy at our heels, and at Naſeby their advanced parties attacked our rear.

The king, upon this, altered his reſolution again, and reſolved to fight, and at midnight called us up at Harborough to come to a council of war.

Fate and the king's opinion determined the council of war; and it was reſolved to fight. Accordingly the van, in which was prince Rupert's brigade of horſe, of which my regiment was a part, countermarched early in the morning.

By five o'clock in the morning* the whole army, in order of battle, began to diſcover the enemy from the riſing grounds, about a mile from Naſeby, and moved towards them. They were drawn up on a little aſcent in a large common fallow field, in a line extended from one ſide of the field to the other, the field ſomething more than a mile over; our army in the ſame order, in a line, with the reſerves.

Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the horſe, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and the king the main body. Of the enemy, Fairfax and Skippon led the body, Cromwell and Roſiter the right, and Ireton the left. The numbers of both armies ſo equal as not to differ five hundred men,

* June 14, 1645.

ſave that the king had moſt horſe by about one thouſand, and Fairfax moſt foot by about five hundred. The number was in each army about eighteen thouſand men.

The armies coming cloſe up, the wings engaged firſt. The prince with his right wing charged with his wonted fury, and drove all the parliament's wing of horſe, one diviſion excepted, clear out of the field. Ireton, who commanded this wing, to give him his due, rallied often, and fought like a lion; but our wing bore down all before them, and purſued them with a terrible execution.

Ireton, ſeeing one diviſion of his horſe left, repaired to them, and keeping his ground, fell foul of a brigade of our foot, who coming up to the head of the line, he, enraged, charged them with his horſe; but they with their pikes made great havock; ſo that this diviſion was entirly routed. Ireton had his horſe killed under him, himſelf thruſt through the thigh with a pike, wounded in the face with a halbert, and was taken priſoner by a captain of foot.

Cromwell, who commanded the parliament's right wing, charged Sir Marmaduke Langdale with extraordinary fury; but he, an old tried ſoldier, ſtood firm and received the charge with equal gallantry, exchanging all their ſhot, carbines and piſtols, and then fell on ſword in hand.

Roſiter and Whaley had the better on the point

of the wing, and routed two diviſions of horſe, puſhing them behind the reſerves, where they rallied, and charged again, but were at laſt defeated; the reſt of the horſe now charged in the flank retreated fighting, and were puſhed behind the reſerves of foot.

While this was doing, the foot engaged with equal fierceneſs, and for two hours there was a terrible fire. The king's foot, backed with gallant officers, and full of rage at the rout of their horſe, bore down the enemy's brigade led by Skippon. The old man wounded, retreated bleeding to their reſerves.

All the foot, except the general's brigade, were thus driven into the reſerves, where their officers rallied them, and brought them on to a freſh charge; and here the horſe, having driven our horſe about a quarter of a mile from the foot, faced about, and fell in on the rear of the foot.

Had our right wing done thus, the day had been ſecured; but prince Rupert, according to his cuſtom, following the flying enemy, never concerned himſelf with the ſafety of thoſe behind; and yet he returned ſooner than he had done in like caſes too.

At our return we found all in confuſion, our foot broken, all but one brigade, which, though charged in front, flank, and rear, could not be broken, till Sir Thomas Fairfax himſelf came up

to the charge with freſh men, and then they were rather cut in pieces than beaten; for they ſtood with their pikes charged every way to the laſt extremity.

In this condition, at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, we ſaw the king rallying his horſe, and preparing to renew the fight; and our wing of horſe coming up to him, gave him opportunity to draw up a large body of horſe, ſo large, that all the enemy's horſe facing us ſtood ſtill and looked on, but did not think fit to charge us, till their foot, who had entirely broken our main battle, were put into order again, and brought up to us.

The officers about the king adviſed his majeſty rather to draw off; for, ſince our foot were loſt, it would be too much odds to expoſe the horſe to the fury of their whole army, and would but be ſacrificing his beſt troops, without any hopes of ſucceſs.

The king, though with great regret at the loſs of his foot, yet ſeeing there was no other hope, took this advice, and retreated in good order to Harborough, and from thence to Leiceſter.

This was the occaſion of the enemy having ſo great a number of priſoners; for the horſe being thus gone off, the foot had no means to make their retreat, and were obliged to yield themſelves. Ireton now made the captain his priſoner, but gave

him his liberty for the kindneſs he before had received from him.

Cromwell and Roſiter, with all the enemy's horſe, followed us as far as Leiceſter, and killed all that they could lay hold on. The king, expecting the enemy would come to Leiceſter, removed to Aſhby de la Zouch, where we had ſome time to recollect ourſelves.

This was the moſt fatal action of the whole war; not ſo much for the loſs of our cannon, ammunition, and baggage, of which the enemy boaſted ſo much, but as it was impoſſible for the king ever to retrieve it: the foot, the beſt that ever he was maſter of, could never be ſupplied; his army in the weſt was expoſed to certain ruin, the north overrun with the Scots; in ſhort, the caſe grew deſperate, and the king was once upon the point of bidding us all diſband, and ſhift for ourſelves.

We loſt in this fight above two thouſand ſlain, and the parliament near as many, but the priſoners were a greater number; the whole body of foot being, as I have ſaid, diſperſed, there were four thouſand five hundred priſoners, beſides four hundred officers, two thouſand horſes, twelve pieces of cannon, forty barrels of powder, all the king's baggage, coaches, moſt of his ſervants, and his ſecretary, with his cabinet of letters, of which the parliament made great improvement, and cauſed his private letters between his majeſty and the queen, her

majeſty's letters to the king, and other ſecret affairs, to be printed.

After this fatal blow, being retreated, as I have ſaid, to Aſhby de la Zouch, in Leiceſterſhire, the king ordered us to divide; his majeſty, with a body of horſe, about three thouſand, went to Litchfield, and through Cheſhire into North Wales; and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with about two thouſand five hundred, went to Newark.

The king remained in Wales for ſeveral months; and though the length of the war had almoſt drained that country of men, yet the king raiſed a great many men there, recruited his horſe regiments, and got together ſix or ſeven regiments of foot, which ſeemed to look like the beginning of a new army.

I had frequent diſcourſes with his majeſty in this low ebb of his affairs, and he would often wiſh he had not expoſed his army at Naſeby.

I took the freedom once to make a propoſition to his majeſty, which, if it had taken effect, I verily believe would have given a new turn to his affairs; and that was, at once to ſlight all his garriſons in the kingdom, and give private orders to all the ſoldiers in every place to join in bodies, and meet at two general rendezvous, which I would have appointed to be, one at Briſtol, and one at Weſtcheſter.

I demonſtrated how eaſily all the forces might reach theſe two places; for both being ſtrong and

wealthy, and both ſea-ports, he would have a free communication by ſea with Ireland, and with his friends abroad; and having Wales entirely his own, he might yet have an opportunity to make good terms for himſelf, or elſe have another fair field with the enemy.

Upon a calculation of his troops in ſeveral garriſons, and ſmall bodies diſperſed about, I convinced the king, by his own accounts, that he might have two complete armies, each of twenty-five thouſand foot, eight thouſand horſe, and two thouſand dragoons; that the lord Goring and the lord Hopton might ſhip all their forces, and come by ſea in two tides, and be with him in a ſhorter time than the enemy could follow.

With two ſuch bodies he might face the enemy; but now his men were only ſacrificed, and eaten up by piece-meal in a party war, and ſpent their lives and eſtates to do him no ſervice: that if the parliament garriſoned the towns and caſtles he ſhould quit, they would leſſen their army, and not dare to ſeek him in the field; and if they did not, but left them open, then it would be no loſs to him, but he might poſſeſs them as often as he pleaſed.

This advice I preſſed with ſuch arguments, that the king was once going to diſpatch orders for the doing it; but to be irreſolute in counſel is always the companion of a declining fortune; the king

was doubtful, and could not reſolve till it was too late.

And yet, though the king's forces were very low, his majeſty was reſolved to make one adventure more, and it was a ſtrange one; for, with but a handful of men, he made a deſperate march almoſt two hundred and fifty miles in the middle of the whole kingdom, compaſſed about with armies and parties innumerable, traverſed the heart of his enemy's country, entered their aſſociated counties, where no army had ever yet come; and, in ſpite of all their victorious troops facing and following him, alarmed even London itſelf, and returned ſafe to Oxford.

His majeſty continued in Wales from the battle at Naſeby till the 5th or 6th of Auguſt, and till he had an account from all parts of the progreſs of his enemies, and the poſture of his own affairs.

Here he found that the enemy being hard preſſed in Somerſetſhire by the lord Goring, and lord Hopton's forces, who had taken Bridgewater, and diſtreſſed Taunton, which was now at the point of ſurrender, they had ordered Fairfax and Cromwell, and the whole army, to march weſtward to relieve the town; which they did, and Goring's troops were worſted, and himſelf wounded at the fight at Langport.

The Scots, who were always the dead weight

upon the king's affairs, having no more work to do in the north, were, at the parliament's deſire, advanced ſouthward, and then ordered away towards South Wales, and were ſet down to the ſiege of Hereford.

Here this famous Scotch army ſpent ſeveral months in a fruitleſs ſiege, ill provided of ammunition, and worſe with money; and having ſat near three months before the town, and done little but eaten up the country round them, upon the repeated accounts of the progreſs of the marquis of Montroſe in that kingdom, and preſſing inſtances of their countrymen, they reſolved to raiſe their ſiege, and go home to relieve their friends.

The king, who was willing to be rid of the Scots upon good terms, and therefore to haſten them, and leſt they ſhould pretend to puſh on the ſiege to take the town firſt, gave it out that he was reſolved, with all his forces, to go into Scotland, and join Montroſe; and ſo, having ſecured Scotland, to renew the war from thence.

And accordingly his majeſty marched northwards with a body of four thouſand horſe; and, had the king really done this, and with that body of horſe marched away, for he had the ſtart of all his enemies by above a fortnight's march, he had then had the faireſt opportunity for a general turn of all his affairs that he ever had in all the latter part of this war.

For Montroſe, a gallant, daring ſoldier, who, from the leaſt ſhadow of force in the fartheſt corner of his country, had, rolling like a ſnowball, ſpread all over Scotland, was come into the ſouth parts, and had ſummoned Edinburgh, frightened away their ſtateſmen, beaten their ſoldiers at Dundee and other places; and letters and meſſengers on the heels of one another repeated their cries to their brethren in England, to lay before them the ſad condition of the country, and to haſten the army to their relief. The Scots lords of the enemy's party fled to Berwick, and the chancellor of Scotland went himſelf to general Leſly to preſs him for help.

In this extremity of affairs Scotland lay when we marched out of Wales. The Scots, at the ſiege of Hereford, hearing the king was gone northward with his horſe, concluded he was gone directly for Scotland, and immediately ſent Leſly with four thouſand horſe and foot to follow, but did not yet raiſe the ſiege.

But the king, ſtill irreſolute, turned away to the eaſtward, and went to Litchfield, where he ſhewed his reſentment at colonel Haſtings' for his eaſy ſurrender of Leiceſter.

In this march the enemy took heart; we had troops of horſe on every ſide upon us, like hounds ſtarted at a freſh ſtag. Leſly, with the Scots, and a ſtrong body followed in our rear, major-general Poyntz, Sir John Gell, colonel Roſiter, and

others, in our way; they pretended to be ten thouſand horſe, and yet never dared to face us. The Scots made one attempt upon a troop which ſtaid a little behind, and took ſome priſoners; but when a regiment of our horſe faced them they retired.

At a village near Litchfield another party of about a thouſand horſe attacked my regiment; we were on the left of the army, and at a little too far a diſtance. I happened to be with the king at that time, and my lieutenant colonel with me; ſo that the major had charge of the regiment; he made a very handſome defence, but ſent meſſengers for ſpeedy relief; we were on a march, and therefore all ready, and the king ordered me a regiment of dragoons and three hundred horſe, and the body halted to bring us off, not knowing how ſtrong the enemy might be.

When I came to the place I found my major hard laid to, but fighting like a lion; the enemy had broke in upon him in two places, and had routed one troop, cutting them off from the body, and had made them all priſoners.

Upon this I fell in with the three hundred horſe, and cleared my major from a party who charged him in the flank; the dragoons immediately lighting, one party of them came upon my wing, and ſaluting the enemy with their muſquets, put them to a ſtand; the other party of dragoons wheeling to the left, endeavoured to get behind them.

The enemy perceiving they ſhould be over-

powered, retreated in as good order as they could, but left us moſt of our priſoners, and about thirty of their own. We loſt fifteen of our men, and the enemy about forty, chiefly by the fire of our dragoons in their retreat.

In this poſture we continued our march; and though the king halted at Litchfield, which was a dangerous article, having ſo many of the enemy's troops upon his hands, and this time gave them opportunity to get into a body; yet the Scots, with their general Leſly, reſolving for the north, the reſt of the troops were not able to face us, till having ravaged the enemy's country through Staffordſhire, Warwick, Leiceſter, and Nottinghamſhire, we came to the leaguer before Newark.

The king was once more on the mind to have gone into Scotland, and called a council of war to that purpoſe; but then it was reſolved by all hands that it would be too late to attempt it; for the Scots and major-general Poyntz were before us, and ſeveral ſtrong bodies of horſe in our rear; and there was no venturing now, unleſs any advantage preſented to rout one of thoſe parties which attended us.

Upon theſe and like conſiderations we reſolved for Newark; on our approach the forces which blocked up that town drew off, being too weak to oppoſe us; for the king had now above five thouſand horſe and dragoons, beſides three hundred

horſe and dragoons he took with him from Newark.

We halted at Newark to aſſiſt the garriſon, or give them time rather to furniſh themſelves from the country with what they wanted, which they were very diligent in doing; for in two days they filled a large iſland which lies under the town, between the two branches of the Trent, with ſheep, oxen, cows, and horſes, an incredible number; and our affairs being now ſomething deſperate, we were not very nice in our uſage of the country; for really if it was not with a reſolution, both to puniſh the enemy and enrich ourſelves, no man can give any rational account why this deſperate journey was undertaken.

It is certain the Newarkers, in the reſpite they gained by our coming, got above fifty thouſand pounds from the country round them, in corn, cattle, money, and other plunder.

From hence we broke into Lincolnſhire, and the king lay at Belvoir caſtle, and from Belvoir caſtle to Stamford. The ſwiftneſs of our march was a terrible ſurpriſe to the enemy; for our van being at a village on the great road called Stilton, the country people fled into the iſle of Ely, and every way, as if all was loſt. Indeed our dragoons treated the country very coarſely; and all our men in general made themſelves rich.

Between Stilton and Huntingdon we had a ſmal

buſtle with ſome of the aſſociation troops of horſe, but they were ſoon routed, and fled to Huntingdon, where they gave ſuch an account of us to their fellows, that they did not think fit to ſtay for us, but left their foot to defend themſelves as well as they could.

While this was doing in the van, a party from Burleigh houſe, near Stamford, the ſeat of the earl of Exeter, purſued four troops of our horſe, who, ſtraggling towards Peterborough, and committing ſome diſorders there, were ſurpriſed before they could get into a poſture of fighting; and encumbered, as I ſuppoſe, with their plunder, they were entirely routed, loſt moſt of their horſes, and were forced to come away on foot; but finding themſelves in this condition, they got into a body in the incloſures, and in that poſture turning dragoons, they lined the hedges, and fired upon the enemy with their carbines.

This way of fighting, though not very pleaſant to troopers, put the enemy's horſe to ſome ſtand, and encouraged our men to venture into a village where the enemy had ſecured forty of their horſe; and boldly charging the guard, they beat them off and recovered thoſe horſes; the reſt made their retreat good to Wandsford bridge; but we loſt near a hundred horſes, and twelve of our men taken priſoners.

The next day the king took Huntingdon; the

foot which were left in the town, as I obſerved by their horſe, had poſted themſelves at the foot of the bridge, and fortified the paſs with ſuch things as the haſte and ſhortneſs of the time would allow; and in this poſture they ſeemed reſolute to defend themſelves.

I confeſs, had they in time planted a good force here, they might have put a full ſtop to our little army; for the river is large and deep, the country on the left marſhy, full of drains and ditches, and unfit for horſe, and we muſt have either turned back, or took the right hand into Bedfordſhire; but there not being above four hundred foot, and they forſaken of their horſe, the reſiſtance they made was to no other purpoſe than to give us occaſion to knock them on the head, and plunder the town.

However, they defended the bridge, as I have ſaid, and oppoſed our paſſage. I was this day in the van, and our forlorn having entered Huntingdon, without any great reſiſtance till they came to the bridge, finding it barricaded, they ſent me word; I cauſed the troops to halt, and rid up to the forlorn to view the countenance of the enemy, and found, by the poſture they had put themſelves in, that they reſolved to ſell us the paſſage as dear as they could.

I ſent to the king for ſome dragoons, and gave him an account of what I obſerved of the enemy,

and that I judged them to be a thouſand men, for I could not particularly ſee their numbers.

Accordingly the king ordered five hundred dragoons to attack the bridge, commanded by a major; the enemy had two hundred muſqueteers placed on the bridge, their barricade ſerved them for a breaſt-work on the front, and the low walls on the bridge ſerved to ſecure their flanks; two bodies of their foot were placed on the oppoſite banks of the river, and a reſerve ſtood in the highway on the rear.

The number of their men could not have been better ordered, and they wanted not courage anſwerable to the conduct of the party. They were commanded by a captain Bennet, a reſolute officer, who ſtood in the front of his men on the bridge, with a pike in his hand.

Before we began to fall on, the king ordered to view the river, to ſee if it was no where paſſable, or any boat to be had; but the river being not fordable, and the boats all ſecured on the other ſide, the attack was reſolved on, and the dragoons fell on with extraordinary bravery.

The foot defended themſelves obſtinately, and beat off our dragoons twice; and though Bennet was killed upon the ſpot, and after him his lieutenant, yet their officers relieving them with freſh men, they would certainly have beat us all off, had not a venturous fellow, one of our dragoons, thrown

himſelf into the river, ſwam over, and, in the midſt of a ſhower of muſquet-bullets, cut the rope which tied a great flat-bottom boat, and brought her ſafe.

With the help of this boat I got over a hundred troopers firſt, and then their horſes, and then two hundred more without their horſes; and with this party fell in with one of the ſmall bodies of foot that were poſted on that ſide, and having routed them, and after them the reſerve which ſtood in the road, I made up to the other party; they ſtood their ground, and having rallied the runaways of both the other parties, charged me with their pikes, and brought me to a retreat; but by this time the king had ſent over three hundred men more, and they coming up to me, the foot retreated.

Thoſe on the bridge finding how it was, and having no ſupplies ſent them as before, fainted, and fled; and the dragoons ruſhing forward, moſt of them were killed; about one hundred and fifty of the enemy were killed, of which all the officers at the bridge; the reſt run away.

The town ſuffered for it; for our men left them little of any thing they could carry. Here we halted, and raiſed contributions, took money of the country, and of the open towns, to exempt them from plunder.

Twice we faced the town of Cambridge, and ſeveral of our officers adviſed his majeſty to ſtorm it; but having no foot, and but one thouſand two

hundred dragoons, wiſer heads diverted him from it; and, leaving Cambridge on the left, we marched to Wooburn, in Bedfordſhire, and our parties raiſed money all over the county quite into Hertfordſhire, within five miles of St. Alban's.

The ſwiftneſs of our march, and uncertainty which way we intended, prevented all poſſible preparation to oppoſe us, and we met with no party able to make head againſt us.

From Woodburn the king went through Buckingham to Oxford; ſome of our men ſtraggling in the villages for plunder, were often picked up by the enemy; but in all this long march we did not loſe two hundred men, got an incredible booty, and brought ſix waggons laden with money, beſides two thouſand horſes, and three thouſand head of cattle, into Oxford.

From Oxford his majeſty moved again into Glouceſterſhire, having left about fifteen hundred of his horſe at Oxford, to ſcour the country and raiſe contributions, which they did as far as Reading.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was returned from taking Bridgewater, and was ſat down before Briſtol, in which prince Rupert commanded with a ſtrong garriſon two thouſand five hundred foot and a thouſand horſe. We had not force enough to attempt any thing there; but the Scots, who lay ſtill before Hereford, were afraid of us, having before parted with all

their horſe under lieutenant general Leſly, but ill ſtored with proviſions; and if we came on their backs, were in a fair way to be ſtarved, or made to buy their proviſions at the price of their blood.

His majeſty was ſenſible of this, and had we had but ten regiments of foot, would certainly have fought the Scots; but we had no foot, or ſo few as was not worth while to march them. However, the king marched to Worceſter, and the Scots apprehending they ſhould be blocked up, immediately raiſed the ſiege, pretending it was to go help their brethren in Scotland, and away they marched northwards.

We picked up ſome of their ſtragglers, but they were ſo poor, had been ſo ill paid, and ſo harraſſed at the ſiege, that they had neither money nor clothes; and the poor ſoldiers fed upon apples and roots, and eat the very green corn as it grew in the fields, which reduced them to a very ſorry condition of health, for they died like people infected with the plague.

It was now debated whether we ſhould yet march for Scotland, but two things prevented:

1. The plague was broke out there, and multitudes died of it, which made the king decline it.

2. The marquis of Montroſe having routed a whole brigade of Leſly's beſt horſe, and carried all before him, wrote to his majeſty, that he did not now want aſſiſtance, but was in hopes in a few days

to ſend a body of foot into England, to his majeſty's ſuccour.

This over confidence of his was his ruin; for, on the contrary, had he earneſtly preſſed the king to have marched, and fallen in with his horſe, the king had done it, and been abſolutely maſter of Scotland in a fortnight's time; but Montroſe was too confident, and defied them all, till at laſt they got their forces together, and Leſly with his horſe out of England, worſted him in two or three encounters, and then never left him till they drove him out of Scotland.

While his majeſty ſtaid at Worceſter ſeveral meſſengers came to him from Cheſhire for relief, being exceedingly ſtraightened by the forces of the parliament; in order to which the king marched, but Shrewſbury being in the enemy's hands, he was obliged to go round by Ludlow, where he was joined by ſome foot out of Wales.

I took this opportunity to aſk his majeſty's leave to go by Shrewſbury to my father's; and taking only two ſervants, I left the army two days before they marched.

This was the moſt unſoldier-like action that ever I was guilty of, to go out of the army to pay a viſit when a time of action was juſt at hand; and though I proteſt I had not the leaſt intimation, no not from my own thoughts, that the army would engage, at leaſt before they came to Cheſter, before

which I intended to meet them; yet it looked ſo ill, ſo like an excuſe, or a cowardlineſs, or diſaffection to the cauſe and to my maſter's intereſt, or ſomething I know not what, that I could not bear to think of it, nor never had the courage to ſee the king's face after it.

From Ludlow the king marched to relieve Cheſter; Poyntz, who commanded the parliament's forces, followed the king, with deſign to join with the forces before Cheſter, under colonel Jones, before the king could come up.

To that end Poyntz paſſed through Shrewſbury the day that the king marched from Ludlow; yet the king's forces got the ſtart of him. and forced him to engage.

Had the king engaged him but three hours ſooner, and conſequently farther off from Cheſter, he had ruined him; for Poyntz's men, not able to ſtand the ſhock of the king's horſe, gave ground, and would in half an hour more been beaten out of the field; but colonel Jones, with a ſtrong party from the camp, which was within two miles, came up in the heat of the action, fell on in the king's rear, and turned the ſcale of the day.

The body was, after an obſtinate fight, defeated, and a great many gentlemen of quality killed and taken priſoners; the earl of Litchfield was of the number of the former, and ſixty-ſeven officers of the latter, with a thouſand others.

The king with about five hundred horſe got into Cheſter, and from thence into Wales, whither all that could get away made up to him as faſt as they could, but in a bad condition.

This was the laſt ſtroke they ſtruck; the reſt of the war was nothing but taking all his garriſons from him, one by one, till they finiſhed the war with the capturing his of perſon; and then, for want of other buſineſs, fell to fighting among themſelves.

I was quite diſconſolate at the news of this laſt action, and the more becauſe I was not there; my regiment was wholly diſperſed; my lieutenant colonel, a gentleman of a good family, and a near relation to my mother, was priſoner; my major and three captains killed, and moſt of the reſt taken priſoners.

The king, hopeleſs of any conſiderable party in Wales, Briſtol being ſurrendered, ſent for prince Rupert and prince Maurice, who came to him. With them, and the lord Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and a great train of gentlemen, his majeſty marched to Newark again, left a thouſand horſe with Sir William Vaughan, to attempt the relief of Cheſter; in doing whereof he was routed the ſecond time by Jones and his men, and entirely diſperſed.

The chief ſtrength the king had in theſe parts was at Newark, and the parliament were very earneſt with the Scots to march ſouthward, and to lay

ſiege to Newark; and while the parliament preſſed them to it, and they ſat ſtill, and delayed it, ſeveral heats began, and ſome ill blood between them, which afterwards broke into open war.

The Engliſh reproached the Scots with pretending to help them, and really hindering their affairs. The Scots returned, that they came to fight for them, and are left to be ſtarved, and can neither get money nor clothes.

At laſt they came to this: the Scots will come to the ſiege, if the parliament will ſend them money, but not before: however, as people ſooner agree in doing ill, than in doing well, they came to terms, and the Scots came with their whole army to the ſiege of Newark.

The king, foreſeeing the ſiege, called his friends about him, told them, he ſaw his circumſtances were ſuch, that they could help him but little, nor he protect them, and adviſed them to ſeparate.

The lord Digby, with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with a ſtrong body of horſe, attempted to get into Scotland, to join with Montroſe, who was ſtill in the Highlands, though reduced to a low ebb; but theſe gentlemen are fallen upon on every ſide and routed, and at laſt being totally broken and diſperſed, they fly to the earl of Derby's protection in the iſle of Man.

Prince Rupert, prince Maurice, colonel Gerrard, and above four hundred gentlemen, all officers of

horſe, laid their commiſſions down, and ſeizing upon Wooton houſe for a retreat, made propoſals to the parliament to leave the kingdom, upon their parole not to return again in arms againſt the parliament, which was accepted, though afterwards the princes declined it.

I ſent my man poſt to the princes to be included in this treaty, and for leave for all that would accept of like conditions; but they had given in the liſt of their names, and could not alter it.

This was a ſad time; the poor remains of the king's fortunes went every where to wreck; every garriſon of the enemy was full of the cavalier priſoners, and every garriſon the king had was beſet with enemies, either blocked up or beſieged.

Goring and the lord Hopton were the only remains of the king's forces which kept in a body, and Fairfax was puſhing them with all imaginable vigour, with his whole army, about Exeter, and other parts of Devonſhire and Cornwall.

In this condition the king left Newark in the night, and got to Oxford.

The king had in Oxford eight thouſand men, and the towns of Banbury, Farringdon, Dunnington caſtle, and ſuch places as might have been brought together in twenty-four hours, fifteen or twenty thouſand men, with which, if he had then reſolved to have quitted the place, and collected the forces in Worceſter, Hereford, Lichfield, Aſhby de

la Zouch, and all the ſmall caſtles and garriſons he had thereabout, he might have had near forty thouſand men, might have beaten the Scots from Newark, colonel Jones from Cheſter, and all before Fairfax, who was in the weſt, could be able to come to their relief, and this his majeſty's friends in North Wales had concerted; and in order to it, Sir Jacob Aſtly gathered what forces he could in our parts, and attempted to join the king at Oxford, and to have propoſed it to him; but Sir Jacob was entirely routed at Stow on the Would, and taken priſoner, and of three thouſand men not above ſix hundred came to Oxford.

All the king's garriſons dropt one by one; Hereford, which had ſtood out againſt the whole army of the Scots, was ſurprized by ſix men and a lieutenant, dreſſed up as country labourers, and a conſtable preſſed to work, who cut the guards in pieces, and let in a party of the enemy.

Cheſter was reduced by famine, all the attemps the king made to relieve it being fruſtrated.

Sir Thomas Fairfax routed the lord Hopton at Torrington, and drove him to ſuch extremities, that he was forced up into the fartheſt corner of Cornwall. The lord Hopton had a gallant body of horſe with him of nine brigades, but no foot; Fairfax, a great army.

Heartleſs and tired out with continual ill news and ill ſucceſs, I had frequent meetings with ſome

gentlemen, who had eſcaped from the rout of Sir William Vaughan, and we agreed upon a meeting at Worceſter of all the friends we could get, to ſee if we could raiſe a body fit to do any ſervice; or, if not, to conſider what was to be done.

At this meeting we had almoſt as many opinions as people; our ſtrength appeared too weak to make any attempt; the game was too far gone in our parts to be retrieved; all we could make up did not amount to above eight hundred horſe.

It was unanimouſly agreed not to go into the parliament as long as our royal maſter did not give up the cauſe; but in all places, and by all poſſible methods, to do him all the ſervice we could.

Some propoſed one thing, ſome another; at laſt we propoſed getting veſſels to carry us to the Iſle of Man to the earl of Derby, as Sir Marmaduke Langdale, lord Digby, and others, had done.

I did not foreſee any ſervice it would be to the king's affairs; but I ſtarted a propoſal, that marching to Pembroke in a body, we ſhould there ſeize upon all the veſſels we could, and embarking ourſelves, horſes, and what foot we could get, croſs the Severn ſea, and land in Cornwall, to the aſſiſtance of Charles prince of Wales, who was in the army of the lord Hopton, and where only there ſeemed to be any poſſibility of a chance for the remaining part of our cauſe.

This propoſal was not without its difficulties, as

how to get to the ſea ſide, and, when there, what aſſurance of ſhipping. The enemy, under major-general Langhorn, had over-run Wales, and it would be next to impoſſible to effect it.

We could never carry our propoſal with the whole aſſembly; but, however, about two hundred of us reſolved to attempt it, and the meeting being broke up without coming to any concluſion, we had a private meeting among ourſelves to effect it.

We diſpatched private meſſengers to Swanſea and Pembroke, and other places; but they all diſcouraged us from the attempt that way, adviſed us to go higher towards north Wales, where the king's intereſt had more friends, and the parliament had no forces.

Upon this we met, and reſolved, and having ſent ſeveral meſſengers that way, one of our men provided us two ſmall veſſels in a little creek near Harleigh caſtle, in Merionethſhire. We marched away with what expedition we could, and embarked in the two veſſels accordingly.

It was the worſt voyage ſure that ever men went; for firſt, we had no manner of accommodation for ſo many people, hay for our horſes we could not get any, or very little, but good ſtore of oats, which ſerved us for our own bread as well as provender for the horſes.

In this condition we put off to ſea, and had a fair

wind all the firſt night, but early in the morning a ſudden ſtorm drove us within two or three leagues of Ireland.

Under this misfortune, ſea-ſick, our horſes rolling about upon one another, and ourſelves ſtifled for want of room, no cabins nor beds, very cold weather, and very indifferent diet, we wiſhed ourſelves aſhore again a thouſand times; and yet we were not willing to go on ſhore in Ireland, if we could help it; for the rebels having poſſeſſion of every place, that was juſt having our throats cut at once.

Having rolled about at the mercy of the winds all day, the ſtorm ceaſing in the evening, we had fair weather again, but wind enough, which being large, in two days and a night we came upon the coaſt of Cornwall, and, to our no ſmall comfort, landed the next day at St. Ives in the county of Cornwall.

We reſted ourſelves here, and ſent an expreſs to the lord Hopton, who was then in Devonſhire, of our arrival, and deſired him to aſſign us quarters, and ſend us his farther orders. His Lordſhip expreſſed a very great ſatisfaction at our arrival, and left it to our own conduct to join him as we ſaw convenient.

We were marching to join him, when news came, that Fairfax had given him an entire defeat at Tor-

rington. This was but the old ſtory over again; we had been uſed to ill news a great while, and it was the leſs ſurprize to us.

Upon this news we halted at Bodmin, till we ſhould hear farther; and it was not long before we ſaw a confirmation of the news before our eyes; for the lord Hopton, with the remainder of his horſe, which he had brought off at Torrington in a very ſhattered condition, retreated to Launceſton, the firſt town in Cornwall, and hearing that Fairfax purſued him, came on to Bodmin.

Hither he ſummoned all the troops which he had left, which when he had got together, where a fine body indeed of five thouſand horſe, but few foot but what were at Pendennis, Barnſtaple, and other garriſons; theſe were commanded by the lord Hopton; the lord Goring had taken ſhipping for France, to get relief, a few days before.

Here a grand council of war was called, and ſeveral things were propoſed, but as it always is in diſtreſs, people are moſt irreſolute, ſo it was here: ſome were for breaking through by force, our number being ſuperior to the enemy's horſe.

To fight them with their foot would be deſperation, and ridiculous; and to retreat, would but be to coop up ourſelves in a narrow place, where at laſt, we muſt be forced to fight upon diſadvantage, or yield at mercy. Others oppoſed this as a deſ-

perate action, and without probability of ſucceſs; and all were of different opinions.

I confeſs, when I ſaw how things were, I ſaw it was a loſt game, and I was for the opinion of breaking through, and doing it now, while the country was open and large, and not being forced to it when it muſt be with more diſadvantage; but nothing was reſolved on, and ſo we retreated before the enemy. Some ſmall ſkirmiſhes there happened near Bodmin, but none that were very conſiderable.

It was the 1ſt of March when we quitted Bodmin, and quartered at large at Columb, St. Denis, and Truro; and the enemy took his quarters at Bodmin, poſting his horſe at the paſſes from Padſtow on the north, to War-bridge, Leſtwithiel, and Foy, ſpreading ſo from ſea to ſea, that now breaking through was impoſſible. There was no more room for counſel; for unleſs we had ſhips to carry us off, we had nothing to do but when we were fallen upon, to defend ourſelves, and ſell victory as dear as we could to the enemy.

Charles, prince of Wales, ſeeing the diſtreſs we were in, and loath to fall into the enemy's hands, ſhipped himſelf on board ſome veſſels at Falmouth, with about four hundred lords and gentlemen; and as I had no command here, to oblige my attendance, I was once going to make one; but my comrades, whom I had been the principal occaſion of bringing

hither, began to take it ill, that I would leave them, and ſo I reſolved we would take our fate together.

While thus we had nothing before us but a ſoldier's death, a fair field, and a ſtrong enemy, and people began to look one upon another: the ſoldiers aſked how their officers looked, and the officers aſked how their ſoldiers looked, and every day we expected to be our laſt, when unexpectedly general lord Fairfax ſent a trumpet to Truro to my lord Hopton with a very humane and polite offer.

That ſince my lord Hopton, our general, could not be ignorant of his preſent condition, and that the place he was in could not afford him ſubſiſtence or defence; and eſpecially conſidering that the ſtate of our affairs were ſuch, that if we ſhould eſcape from thence, we could not remove to our advantage, he had thought good to let us know, That if we would deliver up our horſes and arms, he would, for avoiding the effuſion of blood, or the putting any unſoldierly extremities upon us, allow ſuch honourable and ſafe conditions as were rather better than our preſent circumſtances could demand, and ſuch as ſhould diſcharge him to all the world, as a gentleman, as a ſoldier, and as a chriſtian,

After this followed the conditions he would give us, which were,

1ſt, That all the ſoldiery, as well Engliſh as foreigners, ſhould have liberty to go beyond the ſeas

or to their own dwellings, as they pleaſed; and to ſuch as ſhould chooſe to live at home, protection for their liberty, and from all violence, and plundering of ſoldiers, and to give them bag and baggage, and all their goods, excepting horſes and arms.

2d, That for officers in commiſſion, and gentlemen of quality, he would allow them horſes for themſelves and one ſervant, or more, ſuitable to their quality, and ſuch arms as are ſuitable to gentlemen of ſuch quality travelling in times of peace; and ſuch officers as would go beyond ſea, ſhould take with them their full arms and number of horſes as are allowed in the army to ſuch officers.

3d, That all the troopers ſhould receive, on the delivery of their horſes, twenty ſhillings a man, to carry them home; and the general's paſs and recommendation to any gentleman who may deſire to go to the parliament to ſettle the compoſition for their eſtates.

Laſtly, A very honourable mention of the general, and offer of their mediation to the parliament, to treat him as a man of honour, and one who has been tender of the country, and behaved himſelf with all the moderation and candor that could be expected from an enemy.

Upon the unexpected receipt of this meſſage, a council of war was called, and the letter read; no man offered to ſpeak a word; the general moved it, but every one was loath to begin.

At laſt an old colonel ſtarted up, and aſked the general what he thought might occaſion the writing this letter? The general, anſwered him, he could not tell; but he could tell, he was ſure, of one thing, that he knew what was not the occaſion of it: that is, not any want of force in their army to oblige us to other terms.

Then a doubt was ſtarted, whether the king and parliament were not in any treaty, which this agreement might be prejudicial to.

This occaſioned a letter to my lord Fairfax, wherein our general, returning the civilities, and neither accepting nor refuſing his propoſal, put it upon his honour, whether there was not ſome agreement or conceſſion between his majeſty and the parliament, in order to a general peace, which this treaty might be prejudicial to, or thereby be prejudicial to us.

The lord Fairfax ingenuouſly declared, he had heard the king had made ſome conceſſions, and he heartily wiſhed he would make ſuch as would ſettle the kingdom in peace, that Engliſhmen might not wound and deſtroy one another; but that he declared he knew of no treaty commenced, nor any thing paſt which could give us the leaſt ſhadow of hope for any advantage in not accepting his conditions. And added, that though he did not inſult over our circumſtances, yet if we thought fit, upon

any ſuch ſuppoſition, to refuſe his offers, he was not to ſeek in his meaſures.

And it appeared ſo, for he immediately advanced his forlorns, and diſpoſſeſſed us of two advanced quarters, and thereby ſtraightened us yet more.

We had now nothing to ſay, but treat, and our general was ſo ſenſible of our condition, that he returned the trumpet with a ſafe conduct for commiſſioners at twelve o'clock that night; upon which a ceſſation of arms was agreed on, we quitting Truro to the Lord Fairfax, and he left St. Allan's to us to keep our head quarter.

The conditions were ſoon agreed on, we diſbanded nine full brigades of horſe, and all the conditions were obſerved with the utmoſt honour and care by my lord Fairfax, that ever I knew.

Nor can I omit, in another way, to make honourable mention of this noble enemy, though I did not like his cauſe.

I never ſaw a man of ſuch a pleaſant, calm, courteous, down-right, honeſt behaviour; and, for his courage and perſonal bravery in the field, that we had felt enough of.

No man in the world had more fire and fury in him while in action, or more temper and ſoftneſs out of it.

In ſhort, and I cannot do him greater honour, than ſaying he exceedingly came near the character

of my foreign hero Guſtavus Adolphus, and, in my account, is, of all the ſoldiers in Europe, the fitteſt to be reckoned in the ſecond place of honour to him.

I had particular occaſion to ſee much of his temper in all this action, being one of the hoſtages given by our general, my lord Hopton, for the performance of the conditions, in which circumſtance my lord Fairfax did me ſeveral times the honour to ſend to me to dine with him; and was exceedingly pleaſed to diſcourſe with me about the paſſages of the wars in Germany, which I had ſerved in; he having been at the ſame time in the Low Countries, in the ſervice of prince Maurice.

Here I cannot help alſo obſerving, if at any time my civilities extended to commendations of his own actions, and eſpecially to comparing him to Guſtavus Adolphus, he would bluſh like a woman, and be uneaſy, declining the diſcourſe, and in this he was ſtill more like him.

Let no man ſcruple my honourable mention of this noble enemy, ſince no man can ſuſpect me of favouring the cauſe he embarked in, which I ſerved as heartily againſt as any man in the army; but I cannot conceal extraordinary merit for its being placed in an enemy.

This was the end of our making war; for now we were all under parole never to bear arms againſt the parliament; and though ſome did not keep their

word, yet I think a ſoldier's parole ought to be the moſt ſacred in ſuch caſe, that a ſoldier may be the eaſier truſted at all times upon his honour.

For my part I went home fully contented, ſince I could do my royal maſter no better ſervice, that I had come off no worſe.

The enemy going now on in a full current of ſucceſs, and the king reduced to the laſt extremity, and Fairfax, by long marches, being come back within five miles of Oxford; his majeſty, loath to be cooped up in a town, which on no account could hold out long, quitted the town in a diſguiſe, leaving Sir Thomas Glemham governor, and being only attended with Mr. Aſhburnham and one more, rode away to Newark, and there fatally committed himſelf to the honour and fidelity of the Scots, under general Leven.

There had been ſome little bickering between the parliament and the Scots commiſſioners, concerning the propoſitions which the Scots were for a treaty with the king upon, and the parliament refuſed it.

The parliament, upon all propoſals of peace, had formerly invited the king to come and throw himſelf upon the honour, fidelity, and affection of his parliament.

And now the king from Oxford offering to come up to London, on the protection of the parliament for the ſafety of his perſon, they refuſed him, and

the Scots differed from them in it, and were for a perſonal treaty.

This, in our opinion, was the reaſon which prompted the king to throw himſelf upon the fidelity of the Scots, who really by their infidelity had been the ruin of all his affairs, and now, by their perfidious breach of honour and faith with him, will be virtually and mediately the ruin of his perſon.

The Scots were ſurpriſed at the king coming among them; and the parliament ſent an order to general Leven to ſecure the king in Warwick caſtle; but old Leven was not in ſuch haſte to part with ſo rich a prize; for as ſoon as the king came into the Scots' army, the general prevailed upon his majeſty to ſign an order to colonel Ballafis, the governor of Newark, to ſurrender it, which being done, the Scots departed homewards, with the king in the camp with them; and marching on, a houſe was ordered to be provided for the king at Newcaſtle.

And now the parliament ſaw their error in refuſing his majeſty a perſonal treaty, which if they had accepted, their army was not yet taught the way of huffing their maſters, the kingdom might have been ſettled in peace.

Before, it was, by an order of parliament, let the king be ſent to Warwick caſtle; now, it is, to let his majeſty come to London to treat with his people.

Yet neither one nor the other would do with the Scots; but we who knew the Scots beſt, knew that there was ONE THING would do with them, if the other would not, and that was money; and therefore our hearts trembled for the king.

The Scots, having retreated to Newcaſtle with the king, there they quartered their whole army at large upon the country; the parliament voted they had no farther occaſion for the Scots, and deſired them to go home about their buſineſs.

I do not aver, it was in theſe words, but in whatſoever good words their meſſages might be expreſſed, this and nothing leſs was the Engliſh of it.

The Scots replied, by ſetting forth their loſſes, damages, and dues, the ſubſtance of which was, "Pay us our money, and we will be gone, or elſe we won't ſtir."

The parliament requeſted an account of their demands, which the Scots gave in, amounting to a million ſterling; but, according to their cuſtom, and eſpecially finding that the army under Fairfax inclined gradually that way, fell down to five hundred thouſand pounds, and at laſt to four hundred thouſand; but all the while this is tranſacting, a ſeparate treaty is carried on at London with commiſſioners of Scotland, and afterward at Edinburgh, by which it is given them to underſtand, that whereas upon payment of the money,

the Scots army is to march out of England, and to give up all the towns and garriſons which they hold in this kingdom, ſo they are to take it for granted, that it is the meaning of the tre ty, that they ſhall leave the king in the hands of the Engliſh parliament.

To make this go down the better, the Scotch parliament, upon his majeſty's deſire to go with their army into Scotland, ſent him for anſwer, that it cannot be for the ſafety of his majeſty or of the ſtate, to come into Scotland, not having taken the covenant, and this was carried in their parliament but by two voices.

The Scots having refuſed his coming into Scotland, as was concerted between the two houſes, and their army being to march out of England, the delivering up the king became a conſequence of the agreement unavoidable and of neceſſity.

His majeſty, thus deſerted of thoſe into whoſe hands he had thrown himſelf, took his leave of the Scots general at Newcaſtle, telling him in few words, this ſad truth, that he was bought and ſold.

The parliament commiſſioners received him at Newcaſtle from the Scots, and brought him to Holmby houſe, in Northamptonſhire; from whence, upon the quarrels and feuds of parties, he was fetched by a party of horſe, commanded by cornet Joyce, from the army, upon their mutinous rendezvous at Triplow heath; and, after this, ſuffer-

ing many violences, and varieties of circumſtances among the army, was carried to Hampton court, from whence his majeſty very readily made his eſcape; but not having notice enough to provide effectual means for his more effectual deliverance, was obliged to deliver himſelf to colonel Hammond in the Iſle of Wight.

Here, after ſome very indifferent uſage, the parliament purſued a farther treaty with him, and all points were agreed on but two.

1ſt, The entire aboliſhing epiſcopacy, which the king declared to be againſt his conſcience, and his coronation oath.

2dly, The ſale of the church-lands, which he ſaid, being moſt of them gifts to God and the church, by perſons deceaſed, his majeſty thought could not be alienated without the higheſt ſacrilege; and if taken from the uſes to which they were appointed by the wills of the donors, ought to be reſtored back to the heirs and families of the perſons who bequeathed them.

Theſe two articles were fixed ſo ſtedfaſtly in the mind of his majeſty, that he ventured his fortune and royal family, and even his own life in defence of them: however at laſt, the king condeſcended ſo far in theſe, that the parliament voted his majeſty's conceſſions to be ſufficient to ſettle and eſtabliſh the peace of the nation.

This vote diſcovered the bottom of all the coun-

ſels which then prevailed; for the army, who knew if peace was once ſettled, they ſhould be undone, took the alarm at this, and clubbing together in committees and councils, at laſt brought themſelves to a degree of hardneſs above all that ever this nation ſaw; for, calling into queſtion the proceedings of their maſters who employed them, they immediately fell to work upon the parliament, removed colonel Hammond, who had the charge of the king, and had uſed him honourably, placed a new guard upon him, diſmiſſed the commiſſioners, and put a ſtop to the treaty; and, following their blow, marched to London, placed regiments of foot at the parliament houſe door; and, as the members came up, ſeized upon all thoſe whom they had down in a liſt as promoters of the ſettlement and treaty, and would not ſuffer them to enter; but the reſt, who being of their own ſtamp, are permitted to paſs, carried on the deſigns of the army, revived their votes of non-addreſſes to the king, and then, upon the army's petition, to bring all delinquents to juſtice, the maſk was thrown off, the word all is declared to be meant the king, as well as every man elſe they pleaſed.

It is too ſad a ſtory, and too much a matter of grief to me, and to all good men, to renew the blackneſs of thoſe days, when law and juſtice was under the feet of power; the army ruled the parliament, the private officers their general, the com-

mon ſoldiers their officers, and confuſion was in every part of the government; in this hurry they ſacrificed their king, and ſhed the blood of the Engliſh nobility without mercy.

The hiſtory of the times will ſupply the particulars which I omit, being willing to confine myſelf to my own accounts and obſervations; I was now no more an actor, but a melancholy obſervator of the misfortunes of this period.

I had given my parole not to take up arms againſt the parliament, and I ſaw nothing to invite me to engage on their ſide: I ſaw a world of confuſion in all their councils, and I always expected that in a chain of diſtructions, as it generally falls out, the laſt link would be deſtruction; and though I pretended to no prophecy, yet the progreſs of affairs have brought it to paſs, and I have ſeen Providence, who ſuffered, for the correction of this nation, the ſword to govern and devour us, has at laſt brought deſtruction by the ſword, upon the head of moſt of the party who firſt drew it.

If together with the brief account of what concern I had in the active part of the war, I leave behind me ſome of my own remarks and obſervations, it may be pertinent enough to my deſign, and not unuſeful to poſterity.

I obſerved by the ſequel of things, that it may be ſome excuſe to the firſt parliament, who began this war, to ſay that they manifeſted their deſigns were

not aimed at the monarchy, nor their quarrel at the perſon of the king; becauſe, when they had him in their power, though againſt his will, they would have reſtored both his perſon and dignity as a king, only loading it with ſuch clogs of the people's power, as they at firſt pretended to; that is to ſay, the militia, and power of naming the great officers at court; which powers, it was never denied, had been ſtretched too far in the beginning of this king's reign, aud ſeveral things done illegally, which his majeſty had been ſenſible of and was willing to rectify; but they having obtained the power by victory, reſolved ſo to ſecure themſelves, as that whenever they laid down their arms, the king ſhould not be able to do the like again.

And thus far they were not to be ſo much blamed; and we did not, on our own part, blame them, when they had obtained the power, for parting with it on good terms.

But when I have thus far advocated for the enemies, I muſt be very free to ſtate the crimes of this bloody war, by the events of it.

It is manifeſt there were among them, from the beginning, a party who aimed at the very root of the government, and at the very thing which they brought to paſs, viz. the depoſing and murthering of their ſovereign; and, as the devil is always maſter where miſchief is the work, this party prevailed, turned the other out of doors, and over-

turned all that little honeſty that might be in the beginning of this unhappy ſtrife.

The conſequence of this was, the preſbyterians ſaw their error when it was too late, and then would gladly have joined the royal party, to have ſuppreſſed this new leaven, which had infected the lump; and this is very remarkable, that moſt of the firſt champions of this war, who bore the brunt of it, when the king was powerful and proſperous, and when there was nothing to be got by it but blows, firſt or laſt, were ſo ill uſed by this independant powerful party, who tripped up the heels of all their honeſty, that they were either forced, by ill treatment, to take up arms on our ſide, or ſuppreſſed and reduced by them.

In this the juſtice of providence ſeemed very conſpicuous, that theſe having puſhed all things by violence againſt the king, and by arms and force brought him to their will, were at once both robbed of the end, their church government, and puniſhed for drawing their ſwords againſt their maſters, by their own ſervants drawing the ſword againſt them; and God, in his due time, puniſhed the others too.

And, what was yet farther ſtrange, the puniſhment of this crime of making war againſt their king, ſingled out thoſe very men, both in the army and in the parliament, who were the greateſt cham-

pions of the preſbyterian cauſe in the council, and in the field. Some minutes too of circumſtances I cannot forbear obſerving, though they are not very material, as to the fatality and revolutions of days and times.

A Roman Catholic gentleman, of Lancaſhire, a very religious man in his way, who had obſerved mightily the fatality of times, places and actions, being at my father's houſe, was diſcourſing once upon the juſt judgement of God in dating his providences, ſo as to ſignify to us his diſpleaſure at particular circumſtances; and, among a number of collections he had made, the following were ſome which I took particular notice of.

That king Edward VI. died the ſame day of the ſame month in which he cauſed the altar to be taken down, and the image of the Bleſſed Virgin in the cathedral of St. Paul's.

Archbiſhop Cranmer was burnt at Oxford the ſame day and month that he gave king Henry VIII. advice to divorce his queen Catherine.

Queen Elizabeth died the ſame day and month that ſhe reſolved, in her privy council, to behead the queen of Scots.

King James died the ſame day that he publiſhed his book againſt cardinal Bellarmine.

King Charles's long parliament, which ruined him, began the very ſame day and month which that parliament began, that, at the requeſt of his prede-

ceſſor, robbed the Roman church of all her revenues, and ſuppreſſed abbies and monaſteries.

How juſt his calculations were, or how true the matter of fact, I cannot tell, but it put me upon the ſame in ſeveral actions and ſucceſſes of this war.

And I found a great many circumſtances, as to time and action, which befel both his majeſty and his parties firſt.

Then others which befel the parliament and preſbyterian faction which raiſed the war.

Then the independant tyranny which ſucceeded and ſupplanted the firſt party.

Then the Scots, who acted on both ſides.

Laſtly, The reſtoration and re-eſtabliſhment of the loyalty and religion of our anceſtors.

For king Charles the firſt; 'tis obſervable that the charge againſt the earl of Strafford, (a thing which his majeſty blamed himſelf for all the days of his life, and at the moment of his laſt ſuffering,) was firſt read in the Lords' houſe on the 30th of January, the ſame day of the month ſix years that the king himſelf was brought to the block.

The king was carried away priſoner from Newark, by the Scots, May 10, the ſame day ſix years that, againſt his conſcience and promiſe, he paſſed the bill of attainder againſt the earl of Strafford.

The ſame day ſeven years, that the king entered the Houſe of Commons for the five members, which

all his friends blamed him for, the ſame day the rump voted bringing his majeſty to trial, after they had ſet by the Lords for not agreeing to it, which was the 3d of January 1648-9.

The 12th of May 1646, being the ſurrender of Newark, the parliament held a day of thankſgiving and rejoicing, for the reduction of the king and his party, and finiſhing the war, which was the ſame day five years that the earl of Strafford was beheaded.

The battle at Naſeby, which ruined the king's affairs, and where his ſecretary and his office was taken, was the 14th of June, the ſame day and month the firſt commiſſion was given out by his majeſty to raiſe forces.

The queen voted a traitreſs by the parliament the 3d of May, the ſame day and month ſhe carried the jewels into France.

The ſame day the king defeated Eſſex in the Weſt, his ſon, king Charles II. was defeated at Worceſter.

Archbiſhop Laud's houſe at Lambeth aſſaulted by the mob, the ſame day of the ſame month that he adviſed the king to make war upon the Scots.

Impeached the 15th of December 1640, the ſame day twelvemonth, that he commanded the common-prayer-book of Scotland to be printed, in order to be impoſed upon the Scots, from which all our troubles began.

But many more, and more ſtrange, are the critical junctures of affairs in the caſe of the enemy, or at leaſt more obſerved by me.

Sir John Hotham, who repulſed his majeſty and refuſed him admittance into Hull before the war, was ſeized at Hull by the ſame parliament for whom he had done it, the ſame 10th day of Auguſt two years, that he drew the firſt blood in that war.

John Hampden, Eſq. of Buckinghamſhire, killed the ſame day one year that the mob petition from Bucks was preſented to the king about him as one of the five members.*

Young captain Hotham executed the 1ſt of January, the ſame day that he aſſiſted Sir Thomas Fairfax in the firſt ſkirmiſh with the king's forces at Bramham-moor.

The ſame day and month, being the 6th of Auguſt 1641, that the parliament voted to raiſe an army againſt the king, the ſame day and month, 1648, the parliament were aſſaulted and turned out of doors by that very army, and none left to ſit but who the ſoldiers pleaſed, which were therefore called the rump.

The earl of Holland deſerted the king, who had

* It has been aſſerted he came by his death at the battle of Chaldgrave field, by the burſting of his piſtol, through the ignorance of his own ſervant, by his ramming the barrel too full.

made him general of the horſe, and went over to the parliament, and the 9th of March 1641, carried the Commons' reproaching declaration to the king; and afterwards taking up arms for the king againſt the parliament, was beheaded by them the 9th of March 1648, juſt ſeven years after.

The earl of Holland was ſent to by the king to come to his aſſiſtance and refuſed, the 11th of July 1641, and that very day ſeven years after was taken by the parliament at St. Neots.

Colonel Maſſey defended Glouceſter againſt the king, and beat him off the 5th of September 1643, was after taken by Cromwell's men fighting for the king, on the 5th of September 1651, two or three days after the fight at Worceſter.

Richard Cromwell reſigning, becauſe he could not help it, the parliament voted a free commonwealth, without a ſingle perſon or Houſe of Lords; this was the 25th of May 1658; the 25th of May 1660 the king landed at Dover, and reſtored the government of a ſingle perſon and Houſe of Lord.

Colonel Lambert was proclaimed a traitor by the parliament, April the 20th, being the ſame day he propoſed to Oliver Cromwell to take upon himſelf the title of king.

General Monk being taken priſoner at Namptwich by Sir Thomas Fairfax, revolted to the parliament, the ſame day nineteen years he declared for the king, and thereby reſtored the royal authority.

The parliament voted to approve of Sir John Hotham's repulſing the king at Hull, the 28th of April 1642; the 28th of April 1660, the parliament firſt debated in the houſe the reſtoring the king to the crown.

The agitators of the army formed themſelves into a cabal, and held their firſt meeting to ſeize on the king's perſon, and take him into their cuſtody from Holmby, the 28th of April 1647; the ſame day 1660, the parliament voted the agitators to be taken into cuſtody, and committed as many of them as could be found.

The parliament voted the queen a traitreſs for aſſiſting her huſband, the king, May the 3d, 1643. Her ſon, king Charles II. was preſented with the votes of parliament to reſtore him, and the preſent of fifty thouſand pounds, the 3d of May 1660.

The ſame day the parliament paſſed the act for recognition of Oliver Cromwell, October the 13th, 1654, Lambert broke the parliament, and ſet up the army, 1659, October the 13th.

Some other obſervations I have made, which, as not ſo pertinent, I forbear to publiſh; among which I have noted the fatality of ſome days to parties, as,

The 3d of September, the fight at Dunbar; the fight at Worceſter; the oath againſt a ſingle perſon paſt; Oliver's firſt parliament called.

The 3d of September, Eſſex defeated in Cornwall; Oliver died; city works demoliſhed.

The 29th of May, prince Charles born; Leiceſter taken by ſtorm; king Charles II. reſtored.

Fatality of circumſtances in this unhappy war, as,

The Engliſh parliament called in the Scots to invade their king, and are invaded themſelves by the ſame Scots, in defence of the king whoſe caſe and the deſign of the parliament the Scots had miſtaken.

The Scots, who unjuſtly aſſiſted the parliament to conquer their lawful ſovereign, contrary to their oath of allegiance, and without any pretence on the king's part, are afterwards abſolutely conquered and ſubdued by the ſame parliament they aſſiſted.

The parliament, who raiſed an army to depoſe their king, depoſed by the very ſame army they had raiſ d.

The army broke three parliaments, and are at laſt broken by a free parliament, and all they had done by the military power, undone at once by the civil.

Abundance of the chief men, who, by their fiery ſpirits, involved the nation in a civil war, and took up arms againſt their prince, firſt or laſt met with ruin and diſgrace from their own party.

Sir John Hotham and his ſon, who ſtruck the firſt ſtroke, both beheaded by the parliament.

Major General Maſſey three times taken priſoner by them, and once wounded at Worceſter.

Major General Langhorn, Colonel Poyer, and Colonel Powell, changed ſides, and at laſt taken, could obtain no other favour than to draw lots for their lives; Colonel Poyer drew the dead lot, and was ſhot to death.

Earl of Holland, who, when the houſe voted who ſhould be reprieved, Lord Goring, who had been their worſt enemy, or the earl of Holland, who, excepting one offence, had been their conſtant ſervant, voted Goring to be ſpared, and the earl to die.

The earl of Eſſex, their firſt general;
Sir William Waller,
Lieutenant-general Ludlow,
The Earl of Manchester,

All diſguſted and voted out of the army, though they had ſtood the firſt ſhock of the war, to make way for the new model of the army, and to introduce a party.

In all theſe confuſions I have obſerved two great errors, one of the king, and one of his friends.

Of the king, that when he was in their cuſtody, and at their mercy, he did not comply with thir propoſitions of peace, before their army, for want of employment, fell into heats and mutinies; that he did not at firſt grant the Scots their own conditions,

which, if he had done, he had gone into Scotland; and then, if the Engliſh would have fought the Scots for him, he had a reſerve of his loyal friends, who would have had room to have fallen in with the Scots to his aſſiſtance, who were after diſperſed and deſtroyed in ſmall parties attempting to ſerve him.

While his majeſty remained at Newcaſtle, the queen wrote to him, perſuading him to make peace upon any terms; and in politics, her majeſty's advice was certainly the beſt: for however low he was brought by a peace, it muſt have been better than the condition he was then in.

The error I mention of the king's friends, was this, that after they ſaw all was loſt, they could not be content to ſit ſtill, and reſerve themſelves for better fortunes, and wait the happy time when the diviſions of the enemy would bring them to certain ruin; but muſt haſten their own miſeries by frequent fruitleſs riſings, in the face of a victorious enemy, in ſmall parties; and I aways found theſe effects from it:

Firſt, the enemy, who were always together by the ears, when they were let alone, were united and reconciled when we gave them any interruption; as particularly, in the caſe of the firſt aſſault the army made upon them, when colonel Pride with his regiment garbled the houſe, as they called it; at that time, a fair opportunity offered; but it was omitted till it was too late: that inſult upon

the houſe had been attempted the year before, but was hindered by the little inſurrections of the royal party, and the ſooner they had fallen out the better.

Secondly, Theſe riſings being deſperate, with vaſt diſadvantages, and always ſuppreſſed, ruined all our friends; the remnants of the cavaliers were leſſened, the ſtouteſt and moſt daring were cut off, and the king's intereſt exceedingly weakned, there not being leſs than thirty thouſand of his beſt friends cut off in the ſeveral attempts made at Maidſtone, Colcheſter, Lancaſhire, Pembroke, Pontefract, Kingſton, Preſton, Warrington, Worceſter, and other places. Had theſe men all reſerved their fortunes to a conjunction with the Scots, at either of the invaſions they made into this kingdom, and acted with the conduct and courage they were known maſters of, perhaps neither of thoſe Scots armies had been deſeated.

But the impatience of our friends ruined all; for my part, I was as willing to put my hand to the ruin of the enemy as any of them, but I never ſaw any tolerable appearance of a force able to match the enemy, and I had no mind to be beaten, and then hanged. Had we let them alone, they would have fallen into ſo many parties and factions, and ſo effectually have torn one another to pieces, that whichſoever party had come to us, we ſhould, with them, have been too hard for all the reſt.

This was plain by the courſe of things after-

wards, when the independant army had ruffled the Preſbyterian parliament, the ſoldiery of that party made no ſcruple to join us, and would have reſtored the king with all their hearts, and many of them did join us at laſt.

And the conſequence, though late, ended ſo; for they fell out ſo many times, army and parliament, parliament and army, and alternately pulled one another down ſo often, till at laſt the Preſbyterians, who began the war, ended it; and, to be rid of their enemies, rather than for any love to the monarchy, reſtored king Charles the Second, and brought him in on the very day that they themſelves had formerly reſolved the ruin of his father's government, being the 29th of May, the ſame day twenty years, that the private cabal in London concluded their ſecret league with the Scots, to embroil his father, king Charles the Firſt.

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